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*Of the early History of Sindh, from the "Chuch Namuh" and other authorities. By LIEUT. POSTANS, Assist. Pol. Agent, Shikarpore.*

[Concluded from p. 197.]

### CHAPTER V.

Origin of the tribe of *Soommah*—rule of the *Jams*—invasion of *Sindh* by *Shah Beg Urghoon*—and downfall of the *Soommah* dynasty.

The tribe of *Soommah*, they say, belonged to the tribe of *Ukrumeh* of *Sindh*. The tribe *Bin Issam Bin Ubbi Jahal*, and according to *Meer of Soommah*. *Massoom*, embraced *Islamism*; and were obedient to *Bin Cassim* when he arrived in *Sindh*, in the year 92 H. *Ukrumeh* traced his origin, as connected with *Jamsheed*, hence it is supposed their governors styled themselves *Jams*. Others again trace the origin of this tribe to *Sam*, the son of *Noah*, from which they derive their name *Sammahs*, or *Soommahs*.

They were *zumeendars* in *Sindh* of some importance, and on the downfall of the *Soomrah* dynasty, assumed the reins of government, with the title of *Jam*. Their capital city was *Tattah*.

Reigns of the *Jams*. The first of this family mentioned is

*Jam Oonur,*

who was, by the consent of the tribe of *Soommah*, proclaimed governor. *Mulch Ruttun*, one of the deputies of the kings of *Turkey* threatened *Seeostan*; *Oonur* defeated him, and after a reign of three years and six months died.

*Jam Joonur Bin Babeenah*

succeeded his brother in the government of the country. He appointed his brother and relations to various posts in his dominions;

*Jam Raeduch.*

After the death of *Sikunder*, this man came with a large force to *Tattah*, disclaiming any intention of seizing the throne, but to offer protection to the Mussulmans, promising allegiance to whomsoever they should elect as *Jam*; not finding a fit person, they elected *Raeduch* himself to the sovereignty. In eighteen months he subdued the whole of *Sindh* to his authority. When he had reigned for a period of eight years and a half, *Jam Sunjin* usurped the sovereignty, and killed *Jam Raeduch* by putting poison in his wine cup.

*Jam Sunjin*

was a prince noted for his beauty and pleasing deportment. It was foretold him by a holy *Durwesh* that he should govern *Sindh*; and on the death of *Jam Raeduch*, he was universally elected to the throne. The country flourished under his rule, and was more prosperous than it had ever been under his predecessors. The soldiers and subjects were happy and at peace; he encouraged learned and holy men, and once a week gave alms to the poor. He reigned eight years, and died.

*Jam Nizam-uddeen*, better known as *Jam Nundeh*.

In the year 866 H. 1461 A. D. on the 25th of the month *Rubeh* 866 H. 1461 A. D. *Ul-uwul* ascended the throne; he was well received by all classes, and became a powerful ruler. He was on terms of great intimacy with *Sooltan Hassan Lankar*, of *Mooltan*. At the end of this reign, *Shah Beg Urghoon* sent a large army from *Kandahar*, which laid waste most of the places of *Chundookeh* and *Sundeecheh*. *Jam Nundeh* prepared and dispatched a force to oppose this invasion; the forces met at *Dureh Rowul*, (known as *Julogeer*,) where a great battle was fought, in which the brother of *Shah Beg* was killed, and his troops defeated. They fled to *Kandahar*, nor did they again molest *Sindh* during the time of *Jam Nundeh*. He passed the rest of his life in the society of *Moolaks*, and died after a reign of forty-eight years. The country was at his death torn with dissensions and rebellion.

*Jam Feeroz.*

After the death of *Jam Nundeh*, his son *Jam Feeroz* was a minor, and *Jam Sullahudeen*, the grandson of *Jam Sunjur*, wished to usurp

the throne, but was prevented by *Durya Khan*, a relative and prime minister of *Jam Feeroz*, aided by *Sirhung Khan*. The nobles of *Tattah*, with one consent, placed *Jam Feeroz* upon the throne of his father. *Jam Sullahudeen* fled to *Sooltan Muzuffir* of *Goojrat*, who was his kinsman, and favoured his pretensions to the government of *Sindh*. *Jam Feeroz* being young and inexperienced, neglected his affairs, and his court was composed of the gay and licentious. He passed most of his time in the *harem*, patronizing dancing girls and jesters. *Durya Khan* disgusted at his conduct, left the court, and went to his *jhageer* at *Kahan*. The affairs of the country, were speedily in a state of utter confusion, and the nobles of *Tattah* finding no longer any safety for the lives and property of themselves or families, wrote to the usurper, *Sullahudeen*, to come and seize the throne. *Sullahudeen* shewed the letter which contained this intimation to *Muzuffur Khan*, who dispatched a force with the former, with which he marched, took *Tattah*, and proclaimed himself *Jam*. *Jam Feeroz* repenting of his errors, fled with his mother to *Durya Khan* at *Kahan*, who levied troops from the tribes of *Belooch*, and other men of the desert; these joined with the armies of *Bukkur* and *Seeostan*, succeeded in expelling *Sullahudeen*, and once more placed *Feeroz* upon the throne of *Tattah*, where he remained for some years, until the country of *Sindh* was invaded by *Shah Beg Urghoon*, 926 H. 1519, A. D.

926 H. 1519 A. D. from which may be dated the termination of the  
Termination of the *Soommah* dynasty. *Soommah* dynasty in the government of that country.

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## CHAPTER VI.

*Shah Beg Urghoon*—His origin—Death of his father, *Ameer Zulnoon*—becomes governor of *Kandahar*—*Baber Shah* expels him from *Kandahar*—he conquers *Tattah*, and becomes master of *Sindh*—Reinstates *Jam Feeroz* as governor of *Tattah*—*Sullahudeen* attempts to take *Tattah*, is defeated—his death—revolt of the *Dhareejas*—punishment of that tribe—drives the *Syuds* from *Bukker*—massacre of the *Beloochees*—death of *Shah Beg Urghoon*.

*Shah Beg Urghoon* was the son of *Zulnoon Urghoon*, *Bin Meer Hassan Bussein*, a noble in the service of *Sooltan Hussein Mirza*, of *Khorassan*, who gave him the government of the countries of *Ghoor* and *Zameendawur*. He had some difficulty in bringing the unruly inhabitants of the desert and the tribes of *Hizareh* to his authority; but after a war of about four years with these people, he completely subdued them; and *Sooltan Hussein Mirza* was so much pleased with his conduct, that he added the country of *Kandahar*, and the provinces of *Shal*, *Sitookuk*, and *Urghoon*, to his rule.

His power increasing, *Sooltan Hussein Mirza* became jealous, and summoned *Ameer Zulnoon* to his presence, where he detained him under trifling excuses for some time. During his stay at that court, he formed a firm friendship with *Budeh Ul Zerman Mirza*, a noble, and relative of the king. Being at length disgusted with the delays and subterfuges used to detain him, he effected his escape to *Kandahar*, where he proclaimed himself independent. He was here joined by *Budeh Ul Zuman Mirza*, who had quarrelled with the king, (*Sooltan Hussein*.) *Ameer Zulnoon* married his daughter, thus strengthening the bonds of amity between them. After some time peace was concluded between these two chiefs and *Sooltan Hussein Mirza*. *Ameer Zulnoon* met his death in attempting to resist an

<p>Death of <i>Ameer Zulnoon</i>.</p>	<p>invasion under <i>Mahomed Khan Shibance Uzbeck</i>. He left two sons, <i>Shah Beg</i> and <i>Mahomed Mukim</i>; the former by the consent of the nobles, succeeded his father as governor of <i>Kandahar</i>; he confirmed all the appointments held under his father <i>Ameer Zulnoon</i>, was wise, brave, and generous, patronizing learned men.</p>
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When *Mahomed Khan Shibance* had conquered *Khorassan* he meditated an attack upon *Kandahar*, but *Shah Beg* sent ambassadors

to him, with letters of submission and presents; he struck his image upon the coin, and begged permission himself to wait upon him. *Mahomed Khan* waived this ceremony, and being pleased with the conduct of *Shah Beg* and his brother, honoured their ambassadors, and dismissed them with dresses of honour, horses, tents, &c. for the two princes.

In the year 923 H., 1517 A.D. *Baber Shah* came from *Cabool* and *Ghuznein*, to conquer *Kandahar*; the brothers 923 H., 1517 A.D.

were overpowered, and driven from their country, their father's treasury was pillaged, and a daughter of *Mahomed Mukim* (*Shah Begum*, she married *Kassim Kokeh*, who was killed in the wars of the *Uzbecks*) was taken to *Cabool*. *Baber Shah* left his brother, *Sooltan Nasir-ud-deen*, as governor of *Kandahar*. The brothers afterwards collected a large force, and retook *Kandahar*. (About this time *Mahomed Mukim* died.) *Baber Shah*, however, continued to invade *Shah Beg's* country, who was at length obliged to abandon

*Baber Shah* expels *Shah Beg* from *Kandahar*.

the possession of it, and having for some time contemplated the conquest of *Sindh*, even as far back as the time of *Jam Munde*, he prepared an army, and in the year 926 H. 1519 A.D., on the 11th of the month *Mohurrum*, crossed the river opposite *Tattah*. The army of *Jam Feeroz* under *Durya Khan* was routed, the latter taken, and *Tattah* fell to the arms of *Shah Beg*. He permitted his troops to pillage the city for nine days, the inhabitants being exposed to the licentiousness of the soldiery during that period; on the intercession of *Hafiz Mahomed Shurreef* it was stopped.

*Jam Feeroz* leaving his family in *Tattah* fled to *Peerar*, whence he sent messages of submission to *Shah Beg*; this latter not only treated him with the greatest kindness, but after settling the affairs of *Tattah*

Reinstates *Jam Feeroz* as governor of *Tattah*.

appointed him its governor, placing one-half of the whole province of *Sindh*, viz. from *Lukie*, (which is near *Sehwan*), to *Tattah* under his dominion; from *Lukie* higher up, he delegated to his own servants.

When he had settled the affairs of *Tattah* he proceeded to *Siemer*, but the usurper *Sullahudeen*, (who had before driven *Sulahudeen* attempts to take *Tattah*.

*Jam Feeroz* from the throne,) having collected a large force, threatened *Tattah*. *Shah Beg* sent a body of troops under his son *Mirza Shah Hussein* to reinforce *Jam Feeroz*.

*Sullahudeen* retreated but was pursued, and his troops overthrown ; his son, *Hybut Khan*, being killed. This affliction rendered the father desperate, and he also met his death in the same campaign, in an attack upon the *Moghuls*.

At this time *Sooltan Mahmoud Khan*, governor of *Bukkur*, wrote to *Shah Beg*, who had taken up his residence at *Baghbanan*, that the tribe of *Dhareejas* were in a state of rebellion, refusing to pay their taxes, and ill-treating the servants of *Shah Beg*, who were sent to collect them ; and that but for the fidelity of the *Syuds*, who had assisted *Mahmoud Khan* in repelling their attacks, *Bukkur* must have fallen into the power of those insurgents.

*Shah Beg* on hearing this, came himself to the neighbourhood of *Bukkur*, where he ordered the *Dareejas* to be punished.

*Mahmoud Khan* with the cruelty for which he was remarkable, cut off the heads of about 50 of these people and threw them from the walls of the fort, as a warning to the others.

The *Syuds*, who for many years possessed great power in *Bukkur*, excited the jealousy of *Shah Beg*. He removed them from the fort of *Bukkur* to a place outside the walls, called *Lohurry*. *Shah Beg* himself visited the fort, and directed a wall to be erected round it, with bricks from the ruins of *Alor*. The buildings in the vicinity of *Bukkur* belonging to the Turks and men of *Soommah* he also destroyed, employing the materials for the same purpose. At that time the fort was surrounded by water.

Having settled the affairs of *Bukkur*, *Shah Beg* turned his attention to the tribe of *Beeloochees*, who were in rebellion ; this he quelled by a general slaughter of the tribe wherever they could be found. In forty-two towns and villages these people were put to the sword.

*Shah Beg* after this contemplated extending his power to *Goojrat* ; but hearing that *Baber Shah* had occupied *Kooshab*, intending to conquer *Hindustan*, he became thoughtful, and assured his followers that he was convinced, *Baber Shah* would not let him retain the conquest of *Sindh*, but would drive him and his family from all their possessions. A settled melancholy took possession of *Shah Beg*, and on the 28th of the month *Shuban*, in the year 928 H. 1521 A. D. he died, after a stormy reign in *Sindh* of two



years. His remains were taken to *Bukkur*, and thence to *Mecca*, where his son, *Shah Hussein*, erected a dome over them.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Mirza Shah Hussein Urghoon* succeeded his father *Shah Beg*—conquers *Mooltan*—gives that country to *Baber Shah*—marches to *Kutch*—defeats *Kungar*—*Humayun Padshah* comes to *Sindh*—appoints *Yad Gar Nasir* to the fort of *Bukkur*—*Shah Hussein* brings *Yad Gar* over to his interests—Peace proclaimed between *Shah Hussein* and *Humayun*—The latter leaves *Sindh*—*Yad Gar* quits *Bukkur*—*Sindh* again reverts to *Shah Hussein*—he protects *Kamran Mirza*—death of the latter, and affection of his wife—death of *Mirza Shah Hussein*—and termination of the dynasty of *Urghoon*.

*Mirza Shah Hussein Urghoon* succeeded his father *Shah Beg* in the government of *Sindh*. His first act was to succeeds his father. expel *Jam Feeroz*, who had rebelled, from the government of *Tattah*. This latter collected a large force, but was completely overthrown, and fled to *Goojrat*, where he died.

*Shah Hussein* acknowledged fealty to the power of *Delhi*, and caused the oration delivered on the installation of a prince (*khootbeh*) to be read in the name of *Baber Shah*, instead of his own. He took up his residence at *Tughlukabad*, near *Tattah*. Some rebellious amongst the tribes of the *Beloochees* at *Oobareh* and men of *Dihir* being put down by the sword, *Shah Hussein* turned his attention to the conquest of *Mooltan*. In the year 931 H. 1524 A. D. he reached the fort of *Sewrae*, which he took and destroyed. He then proceeded to the fort of *Moos*, near *Kootab*, the governor of which, *Sheikh Rohillah*, proffered submission; 500 horse, under *Mohib-i-Tukhan*, were dispatched in advance to *Mooltan*, and *Shah Hussein* followed to *Oocheh*. This fort he besieged, and although the troops of *Mahmood Lankar*, governor of *Mooltan*, made a brave resistance, the fort was taken, and a general massacre followed. At the intercession of some holy men the slaughter was stayed, but the fort was levelled to the ground, and the gates and other materials placed in boats and conveyed to *Bukkur*. When *Mahmood*

*Lankar* heard of the fall of *Oocheh*, he marched to attack *Shah Hussein*, but shortly after met his death by poison. He was succeeded by his son, *Hussein Lankar*, who was a minor.

*Mirzah Shah Hussein* closely besieged the fort of *Mooltan*; the siege lasted for a year, and is described as having been attended with all the horrors of famine; one ox's head sold in *Mooltan* for 100 *tankah*, one maund of wheat 100 *tankah*. The inhabitants principally subsisted upon the skins of oxen; dogs and cats were esteemed as great delicacies in *Mooltan*, as *hulwah* (sweetmeat). Many of the wretched inhabitants threw themselves from the walls and sought protection from *Mirza Shah Hussein*.

At length the fort was taken, a general massacre ensued of all males from the age of seven to seventy, and lasted twelve days. When the rage of *Shah Hussein* had somewhat abated, he stayed this inhuman slaughter, and spared the lives of the survivors.

*Hussein Lankar*, the prince of *Mooltan*, was captured, and after a stay of ten months, during which period he employed himself in stripping all the nobles and followers of *Mahmood Lankar* of their property, and imprisoning others, *Mirza Shah Hussein* returned to *Bukkur*, leaving *Khajee Shumsudeen* and *Dost Meer* at *Khor* with 200 horse, 100 infantry, and 100 artillery to garrison *Mooltan*. He had only arrived at *Bukkur* a short time, however, when he received intelligence of the revolt of the governor of *Mooltan*, who had gone over to *Baber Shah*;

but being at the same time apprised of an attack in another quarter of his dominions, at *Tattah*, he preferred presenting the country of *Mooltan* to *Baber Shah*, as he found its government more than he could manage. The nobles of *Tattah* on the arrival of *Mirza Shah Hussein* at *Bukkur*, had informed him that *Kungar* was collecting a force to attack *Tattah*. On receiving this intelligence, he immediately proceeded to that place, and before the arrival of *Kungar*, marched to attack him. When he arrived near the country of *Kutch*, his army suffered much for want of grain; but *Kungar's* army shortly after was overthrown, and the country pillaged by *Shah Hussein* of flocks, herds, and property of every description, and the inhabitants of every city, town, and village put to the sword.

In the year 947 H. 1540 A. D., *Humayun Padshah*, attended by *Mahmoud Kamran Mirza*, being driven out of *Hind* by *Sheer Khan*, came to *Lahore* with the intention of making an incursion upon *Sindh*, on the 13th of *Ramazan*. In the above year he halted with his force at *Paburloo*, in the neighbourhood of *Bukkur*. *Sooltan Mahmood*, governor of the fort, laid waste the surrounding country, anchored the boats under the walls of the fort, and prepared for a vigorous defence. *Humayun* summoned him to surrender, but he refused; the *Padshah's* servants, however, managed to trifle with *Mahmoud*; and he sent 500 *khirwars* of grain to *Humayun's* camp. This latter finding his army suffer much for want of supplies, wrote in friendly terms to *Mirza Shah Hussein* to come to him at *Bukkur*; but after waiting for five or six months in expectation of seeing him, he was disappointed, for *Shah Hussein* evaded the interview, and cut off all supplies from the *Padshah's* camp. This, coupled with the swells of the river, occasioned great suffering amongst his troops, and desertions became frequent. He proceeded to *Secoostan*, leaving the siege of *Bukkur* in the hands of *Yad Gar Nasir*, who took the fort. At this period, *Mirza Shah Hussein* wrote to *Yad Gar Nasir*, offering terms of friendship, promising him his daughter in marriage, and to secure him the kingdom of *Sindh* after his death; enticed by these promises *Yad Gar Nasir* threw off his allegiance to the *Padshah Humayun*.

*Humayun* on hearing this, immediately returned to the neighbourhood of *Bukkur*, where he summoned *Yad Gar* to his presence—he obeyed the order.

Through the intervention of *Benam Khan*, who came from *Goojrat* to the service of the *Padshah*, peace was declared between the *Padshah and Mirza Shah Hussein*.

*Humayun* agreed to leave *Sindh*, on condition of receiving 100,000 *miskals* in money, and all the necessaries for his army to *Kandahar*, 300 horses, 300 camels, &c. This demand was acceded to, and with great rejoicings and promises of friendship, the *Sindhians* witnessed the passage of the river by the *Padshah's* army, at a place called *Joon*, where a bridge had been erected on the 7th of the month *Rubeh ul Uwul*, in the year 951 H. 1544 A. D.

*Shah Hussein* after this, evaded the promise of giving his daughter *Yad Gar* quits in marriage to *Yad Gar Nasir*, who left the country; and the power in *Sindh* reverted solely to *Mirza Shah Hussein*, who appointed *Meer Shah Mahmoud Urghoon* governor of *Bukkur*.

*Kamran Mirza* being in rebellion with *Humayun Padshah*, son of *Baber Shah*, fled to *Sindh*, and sought protection from *Mirza Shah Hussein*, whose daughter, *Joirjok Begum*, he had previously married. *Shah Hussein* appointed him for a residence the place called *Shuhperlah*, on the river to the west of *Bukkur*, with the purgunnah of *Butthoora* for the expences incidental to his household. But *Kamran Mirza* determined to make a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and there end his days. *Shah Hussein* tried to prevent his daughter accompanying him; but her conjugal affection resisted all his persuasions to effect a separation. She observed to her father: "that he had given her to *Kamran Mirza* for wife when the latter was a powerful prince, and now that misfortunes had assailed him, he wished to separate them; but that while they lived she would never desert her husband." *Shah Hussein* finding threats and intreaties alike unavailing, gave them every necessary for their jour-

His death 964 H.  
1556 A. D.

ney, and *Kamran Mirza* died at *Mecca* in the year 964 H. 1556 A. D. His faithful wife only survived him a few months.

*Mirza Shah Hussein* in the latter days of his life became very infirm, and suffered much from palsy, from which disease he sought relief in intoxication, and dissipated men began to assume an ascendancy at his court. The men of *Urghoon* and *Tirkhan* being dissatisfied, collected round *Mirza Eessan Tirkhan*, governor of *Tattah*, and in the year 962 H. 1554 A. D. broke into open insurrection. *Shah Hussein* sent *Mahmoud*, governor of *Bukkur*, to quell this rebellion; but he privately made terms with *Mirza Eessan Tirkhan*, by which after the death of *Shah Hussein*, (an event they plainly saw was fast approaching,) they should divide the government of *Sindh* between them.

*Mirza Shah Hussein* died on Monday on the 15th of *Rubeh-ul-Uwul* in the above year, being on his road to *Secoostan*, (where, by the advice of his physician, he

Death of *Mirza Shah Hussein*. 962. H. 1554 A. D.



was proceeding,) at a place called *Allipootreh*. He reigned 34 years, and his remains were conveyed to *Mecca*, where they were buried near those of his father, *Shah Beg*. His death closed the dynasty of *Urghoon*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Mirza Eessan Tirkhan*—dissensions between him and *Mahmoud Khan* of *Bukkur*—*Tattah* fired and pillaged by the *Portuguese*—peace concluded between *Mirza Eessan* and *Mahmoud Khan*—brief history of the former dissensions between his sons—death of *Mirza Eessan*—succeeded by his son *Mirza Mahomed Bakee*—at enmity with *Mahmoud Khan*—origin of the latter—*Mahomed Bakee*—opposed by his brother, *Khan Baber*—is murdered by *Mahomed Bakee*—*Akbar Padshah* sends *Mohib Ally Khan* to besiege *Bukkur*—*Mahomed Bakee's* a submission to the *Shah*—death of *Mahmoud Khan*—*Bukkur* becomes a *jahgeer* of the kingdom of *Delhi*—*Mirza Mahomed Bakee* destroys himself.

### *Mirza Eessan Tirkhan.*

A year after the death of *Shah Hussein*, rivalry and dissension arose between *Mirza Eessan Tirkhan*, governor of *Tattah*, 963 H, 1555 A. D.  
 Dissensions with. *Sooltan Mahmoud*. and *Sooltan Mahmoud*, governor of *Bukkur*; the pretensions of the former being favoured by the men of *Urghoon* and *Tirkhan*. *Mirza Eessan* marched to attack *Bukkur*, in which fort *Mahmoud* entrenched himself, and was besieged for 15 days; but at this time intelligence reached the former, that the *Portuguese* mercenaries, whom he had left at *Tattah*, had set fire *Tattah* fired and pillaged by the *Portuguese*. to, and pillaged that city, he immediately raised the siege, and returned to *Tattah*. *Mahmoud* pursued him as far as *Seeoostan*, the country in the vicinity of which he laid waste. On his arrival at *Tattah*, *Mirza Eessan* learnt that the *Portuguese* hearing of his approach, had decamped; he repaired the walls of the city, and built a small fort to command the creek. After other engagements between *Mirza Eessan* and *Mahmoud*, peace was concluded between them; the forces of the *Mirza* returning to *Tattah*, and those of *Mahmoud* to *Bukkur*, which places they occupied, and continued to divide the government of the country between them. *Mirza Eessan Tirkhan* is described as having been educated by *Shah Beg*, in whose service and that of his son, he attained the

Peace concluded between *Mirza Eessan* and *Mahmoud Khan*.  
 History of *Mirza Eessan*.

rank of *ameer*, and on the death of the latter, succeeded to the government of *Tattah*. He was a good and merciful man, noted for his courage and energy. Two of his sons, *Mirza Mahmoud Bakee*, and *Mirza Mahomed Taleb* were at enmity; the latter being favoured by his father, defeated *Mahomed Bakee*, who fled to *Bukkur* and sought protection from *Mahmoud*. *Mahomed Saleh* was shortly afterwards murdered by a *Beloochee*, who had sworn not to wear his turban, until he had revenged himself for some injury committed upon his father and family.

*Mahmoud* interceded with *Mirza Eessan* for the forgiveness of *Mahomed Bakee* who returned to *Tattah*, and was kindly received; but *Mirza Eessan* before his death, which happened in the year 974 H. 1566, A. D. wished to settle the succession upon his youngest son, *Khan Baber*, as he considered *Mahomed Bakee* of too tyrannical a disposition to rule.

#### *Mirza Mahomed Bakee Tirkhan*

succeeded his father, *Mirza Eessan Tirkhan* as governor of *Tattah*, and like him continued alternately at peace and war with *Mahmoud Khan*, governor of *Bukkur*. A brief account of the career of this man, who for nineteen years divided the government of *Sindh*, with two of the rulers of *Tirkhan*, will not be out of place in this part of the history.

*Mahmoud Khan* was the son of *Meer Fazil Kukultash*, in the service of *Meer Zulnoon*; his forefathers were residents of *Ispahan*. *Meer Fazil* had five wives, by each of whom he had a son. *Mahmoud's* mother was an *Afghaun*. At the early age of fourteen he gave promise of great courage, and attracted the attention of *Shah Beg*, who took him into his service; he accompanied him in the *Sindh* campaign, where he distinguished himself above all the nobles of *Shah Beg's* army; he subsequently became a governor of *Bukkur* during the time of *Mirza Shah Hussein*, whom he faithfully served, until he leagued with *Mirza Eessan Tirkhan* to divide the government of the country between them after *Shah Hussein's* death. The history of these proceedings, and the feuds and jealousies which arose between these chiefs, have been related, till the accession of *Mirza Bakee*.

*Mirza Mahomed Bakee* was opposed by his youngest brother, *Khan Baber*, who aspired to the government of the country. He procured assistance from *Mahmoud Khan*, and attempted an attack upon *Tattah*, in which he failed; he was afterwards treacherously murdered by his brother, who proved himself, as his father had predicted, a great tyrant. Hearing that *Akbar Padshah* had arrived at *Lahore*, and had dispatched *Mohib Ally Khan* and *Mujahid Khan* to *Bukkur*, where they besieged *Mahmoud Khan*, and fearing for the safety of his own possessions at *Tattah*, he sent letters, acknowledging his fealty to *Akbar*, and according to some historians, even sent his daughter, for the service of the king's harem.

*Mahmoud Khan* endured a close and harassing siege, during which the garrison suffered from pestilence and famine. In the year 982 H. 1574 A. D., he began to suffer from dropsy, and wrote to the *Padshah* to send some one to whom he might deliver over the fort of *Bukkur*, which *Mohib Ally Khan* had not yet taken. The *Padshah Akbar* dispatched *Kessoo Khan*; but *Mahmoud* died before his arrival at *Bukkur*, on Saturday the 8th of the month *Sufur* in the above year.

Death of *Mahmoud Khan*.

From this date *Bukkur* became a *jahgeer* of the power at *Delhi*, and various rulers were sent to govern it. *Mirza Mahomed Bakee* became insane; at least the deeds of cruelty he committed were so enormous, that they can only be ascribed to madness. The loss of a favourite son, (*Shah Rookh*), increased his malady, and he destroyed himself by rushing on his own sword. He died in the year 993 H. 1583 A. D. after a rule of 19 years. His eldest son, *Pabundah Beg*, inheriting the malady of the father, was declared incapable of governing, and the power descended to the son of *Pahbunde* and grandson of *Mirza Bakee*.

*Mirza Mahomed Bakee* destroys himself,

993 H. 1585 A. D.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Mirza Janee Beg Tirkhan*—*Akbar* sends *Khan Khanan* to *Sindh*—siege of *Schwan*—defeat of the war boats—siege of *Bohurry*—destruction of *Tattah*—*Janee Beg* treats for peace—peace concluded—*Janee Beg* accompanies *Khan Khanan* to the presence—*Akbar Padshah* honours *Janee Beg*—death of *Janee Beg*—*Sindh* becomes a dependency of the throne of *Delhi*—*Mirza Ghazie Beg Tirkhan*—revolt of *Abul Cassim*—the *Padshah* sends for *Ghazee Beg*—he proceeds to *Agra*—additional power—repairs to *Kandahar*, where he is murdered—his generosity—rulers deputed by the *Delhi* sovereigns of the family of *Timoor* until the accession of the *Kalonas*—their rule—accession of the *Talpooras*.

*Mirza Janee Beg Tirkhan.*

His first act was to punish with studied cruelty, the accused murderers of the late *Mirza*. His uncle *Muzuffir Khan* disgusted at his conduct, collected a force to attack *Tattah*; but was defeated. *Bukkur*, as was before mentioned, after the death of *Mahmoud Khan*, became a

dependency of the kingdom of *Delhi*, in the year  
 999 H. 1590 A. D. *Khan Khanan* sent to *Sindh*.  
 999 H. 1590 A. D. *Akbar Shah* gave it as a *jahgeer*  
 to *Khan Khanan*, with orders to reduce the governor  
 of *Tattah* (*Janee Beg*), also to his authority.

The Shah had previously written to *Janee Beg* to come to the presence, and proffer allegiance, a performance of which order the latter evaded. *Khan Khanan* first determined to take the fort of *Seh-ran*, as it commanded the passage of the river, and then march to attack *Tattah*. He had, however, scarcely commenced the siege, when intelligence reached him of the march of *Janee Beg*, with a countless army, to the relief of the fort. *Khan Khanan* raised the siege of *Seh-wan*, and proceeded to meet *Janee Beg*, who at a place called *Bohurry*, (higher up than *Nussurpoor*,) had thrown up a fort, and strengthened his position. When *Khan Khanan* arrived within six *koss* of that place, he learnt that *Janee Beg* had 300 war boats with him, commanded by *Khusroo Khan* and other nobles.

*Khan Khanan* threw up five or six small mud forts, which he mounted with guns, on the bank of the river, commanding the passage of the boats. On a night of the month *Shuwal*, 999. H. 1590 A. D. the  
 Ascent of the war boats. action commenced, the shot striking the *Sindhian*  
 boats, threw them into confusion; eight or nine were



captured and their crews slaughtered. In the morning the boats of *Mirza Janee*, commanded by *Khusroo Khan*, finding the passage of the river in the face of the guns impracticable, retreated, but were pursued by the *Khan's* boats, and although *Khusroo Khan* behaved well, and shewed good generalship, many of his fleet were taken, and the *Portuguese* mercenaries and other soldiers slaughtered. In short, *Janee Beg* was defeated and retreated to *Bohurry*, where he was invested by *Khan Khanan*. From this place he

Destruction of  
Tattah.

wrote to his son at *Tattah* to destroy that city; it was fired in various places, and in a month was a complete ruin, and the country laid waste: this was done with the intention of annoying the invaders. Repeated engagements ensued, in which *Janee Beg's* forces were always worsted; he was driven from one stronghold to another, his last stand being at *Oonurpoor*. Here *Khan Khanan* came himself, and *Janee Beg* was closely besieged; finding

*Janee Beg* treats  
for peace.

his soldiers suffer, and all his efforts to repel the *Khan's* army unavailing, he at last sued for peace, promising to surrender thirty boats and the fort of *Sehwan*, intreating permission at the same time, to be allowed to proceed to *Tattah*, where he would see *Khan Khanan*, and settle other preliminaries. This indulgence was granted by the *Khan* contrary to the advice of his nobles, who represented that *Janee Beg*

wished only to gain time in order to collect fresh troops; but *Khan Khanan* confident in his power to crush *Janee Beg*, and anxious to avoid the useless waste of life, which a protraction of the war would occasion, acceded to the terms offered by the *Mirza*. The two chiefs afterwards met at a place called *Futtebagh*, where they displayed every mark of friendship and consideration towards each other. *Khan Khanan* proceeded to *Tattah*, the affairs of which place he settled, leaving *Dowlut Khan* and *Khawgeh Mukim* to preserve the *Shah's* authority. *Khan Khanan* having expressed a desire to behold the sea, embarked with *Janee Beg*

Accompanies *Khan*  
*Khanan* to *Agra*.

at the port of *Lahurry*; after a short excursion they returned, and in obedience to orders, proceeded to the presence of *Akbar Shah*, where they arrived in the month of *Jumadee-ul-Sanee*, in the year of the H. 1001, A. D. 1592. *Akbar Padshah* honoured *Janee Beg*, making him

1001 H. 1592 A. D.  
Is honoured.

a commander of five thousand, and styling him *Khusroo Shah*; he treated him with every demonstration of kindness.

1008 H. 1599 A. D.

In the year 1008 H. 1599 A. D. when the king marched to the *Deccan*, and took the forts of *Ahmednuggur*, *Ookleh*, and *Asserghur*, *Mirza Janee Beg* died of phrenzy. He was buried at *Tattah*, and his son *Mirza Ghazee* succeeded him in the government of the country.

Dies, and *Sindh* ceases to be an independent government.

From this date, the whole of the country of *Sindh* became a dependency of the kingdom of *Delhi*, and ceased to be an independent government. The rule of the tribe of *Tirkhan*\* embraces a period of 39 years.

### *Mirza Ghazee Beg Tirkhan*

after the death of his father, by order of the *Padshah*, succeeded to the government of the country of *Sindh*. He was young, but at the beginning of his rule shewed all the vigour and ability of riper years. He replenished the treasury and resources of the country, which during his father's reign had been squandered and allowed to go to ruin.

Revolt of *Abool Cassim*.

*Abool Cassim*, son of *Shah Cassim Khan Urgphoon*, (who for years possessed *Nussurpore* and during the life of *Mirza Janee* also had *Neirunkote*,) rose in rebellion against *Mirza Ghazee Beg*, and having plundered some merchants who were travelling from *Tattah*, the *Mirza* wrote to him for an explanation of the outrage, to which he received an offensive reply. *Ghazee Beg* thereupon marched a force to *Nusserpore*, but by the intervention of the father, (*Shah Cassim Khan*,) peace was concluded between his son and *Ghazee Beg*. The latter being afraid of the power of *Abool Cassim*, caught him by stratagem, put out his eyes, and made him prisoner. At this time, ambassadors arrived from *Akbar Padshah*,

The *Padshah* sends for *Ghazee Beg*.

to summon *Ghazee Beg* to his presence; but he excused himself, as the affairs of the country yet required much of his attention. In two years after his father's death things were in a prosperous state. The unfortunate *Abool Cassim*, aided by *Jaffer Khan*, attempted to escape, but was recaptured, and the latter killed. Again intelligence was received at *Tattah* that the *Padshah* being impatient, had dispatched the *Nuwab Syud Khan*,

\* i. e. As independent governors.

with orders to bring the *Mirza* to the presence; some of the nobles expressed a desire to rebel against the *Padshah's* authority, and only regretted their want of means to assemble a force for that purpose. *Ghazee Beg's* prudence, however, silenced their ambitious projects, Proceeds to Agra and before the arrival of *Syud Khan*, he started for *Agra*, and met the latter at *Bukker*, from whence they proceeded together, and arrived at *Agra* in the year 1013 H., 1604 A. D.

*Mirza Ghazee* was honoured\* and treated with the same consideration which marked his father's stay at the royal court. The country of *Sindh* was declared to be a *jahgeer*, and bestowed upon him. On the accession of *Shah Jahangir*, 1014 H. 1605 A. D. the government of the country of *Kandahar*, part of *Mooltan*, and the fort of *Sehwan* Additional power. were added to his authority, with additional rank. The affairs of *Kandahar* requiring his attention, he proceeded to that Repairs to Kanda- country, appointing *Khusroo Khan*, governor of har. *Tattah* during his absence. This man appropriated the revenues to his private purposes, which being reported to *Ghazee Beg*, he sent *Hindoo Khan* to supersede him, and to take the management of affairs in his stead. *Mirza Ghazee* in the very height of his fame and prosperity was murdered by a slave of his own household, named *Abool Lutteef*, in the year 1021 H. 1612 A. D. He left a great name behind him for generosity and bravery, and in his praise, is the following couplet:—

“Alas! a rose has been scattered by a slave.”

It is reported of him that he gave all his money to his subjects, and His generosity. although he had the revenues of *Sindh*, *Kandahar*, and part of *Mooltan*, he was always poor. His minister of finance once represented to him that his accounts, which had not been inspected for six months, were in confusion, and that he had not the means of providing for the *Mirza's* household expenses. *Ghazee Beg* tore the paper which was presented in pieces, saying: “that for himself God would provide him with food; but the public money was alone the property of the subject.”

\* *Jahangir* even asked him his advice as to the measures he might pursue with his son *Khusroo*, then in rebellion; this is mentioned as a proof of the esteem in which the Emperor held him.

His remains were brought to *Tattah*, and interred near those of his father. After his death the *Delhi* kings, from the time of *Jahangir* until the accession of the *Kaloras*, sent various nobles as deputies to rule in that country.

### *Mirza Rustum*

was deputed by *Jahangir*, after the death of *Ghazee Beg*, to proceed to *Tattah* as governor of *Sindh*; he had before

Rulers deputed by the *Delhi* sovereigns of the family of *Ti-moor*, until the accession of the *Kaloras*.

been governor of *Zumeendarwar* and *Mooltan* during the time of *Akbar Padshah*. It is said that *Jahangir* sent with him 5,000 horse, and two lacs of rupees

to assist him in replenishing the treasury, and settling the affairs of the country; but he proved himself unfit to govern, and was dismissed. He was succeeded by *Moosty Khan*, also dismissed; he by *Meer Bayeozzeed*, 1028 H. 1618 A. D., who had been formerly *Foujdar* of

1028 H. 1618. A. D. *Bukkur*. After him *Nuwab Shurf-ul-Mulk*, in the year 1035 H. 1625 A. D. During his time, the son of *Jahangir*\* being in rebellion, came to *Tattah*, where he wished to reside, but *Shurf-ul-Mulk* opposed him and some conflicts ensued.

*Mirza Eessan Tirkhan*, son of *Khan Baber*, and grandson of the former governor of the same name.

He was concerned with *Abool Cassim*, in the revolt against *Mirza Ghazee Beg*, and after the capture of the former, entered the service of *Jahangir*, who honoured him; and in reward for various services performed, made him a commander of 4,000 horse, and in the year 1037 H. 1627 A. D., (the last of the reign and life of *Jahangir*,) he was appointed governor of *Tattah*, in which situation he died, during the reign of *Shah Jehan*.

### *Nuwab Ameer Khan.*

In the beginning of his rule he had some differences with the *zumeendars*, but he settled the affairs of the country, and was a good and just man. So little of interest is recorded in the histories of the succeeding governors, that it will be sufficient to mention them in chronological order:—

\* Probably *Khurram Khan*, afterwards *Shah Jehan*, who rebelled against his father in 1624 A. D.



## Date of Accession.

6th. Murab Muzuffar Khan, not known.

7th. Syud Ibrahim,	...	1057 H. 1647 A. D.	{ During this rule <i>Aurang-</i> <i>zebe</i> mounted the throne.
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8th. Jafur Khan, ... 1063 H. 1652 A. D.

9th. Kabad Khan, ... 1069 H. 1658 A. D.

10th. Nuwab Lashkar Khan, ... 1071 H. 1660 A. D.

11th. Ghuzunfur Khan, ... 1075 H. 1664 A. D.

12th. Syud Izut Khan, ... 1080 H. 1669 A. D.

13th. Abool Nusrut Khan, ... 1082 H. 1671 A. D.

14th. Sahadut Khan, ... " "

15th. Syud Izut Khan, ... 1084 H. 1673 A. D.

16th. Khan Zad Khan, ... 1090 H. 1679 A. D.

17th. Sirdar Khan, ... 1095 H. 1683 A. D.

18th. Mureed Khan, ... 1099 H. 1687 A. D.

19th. Zaburdust Khan, ... 1101 H. 1689 A. D.

20th. Abou Nusrut Khan, ... 1103 H. 1691 A. D.

21st. Ifuz Ali Khan, ... 1113 H. 1701 A. D.

22d. Saheed Khan, ... 1114 H. 1702 A. D.

23d. Ameer-ud-deen Khan, ... " "

24th. Yuzuf Khan, ... 1115 H. 1703 A. D.

25th. Ahmed Yar Khan,	...	1116 H. 1704 A. D.	{ During this rule <i>Alumgeer</i> died, 1118 H. and was suc- ceeded by <i>Ba-</i> <i>hadur Shah</i> .
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26th. Nuwab Saheed Khan, ... 1119 H. 1707 A. D.

27th. Nuwab Moheen Khan, ... 1121 H. 1709 A. D.

28th. Nuwab Maheen Khan ... 1123 H. 1711 A. D.

29th. Nuwab Shakir Khan,	...	1124 H. 1712 A. D.	{ <i>Bahadoor</i> <i>Shah</i> died 1124 H.
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30th. Khwaja Kulleel Khan, ... not known.

31st. Attar Khan, ... " "

32nd. Lootuf Ali Khan, ... " "

33rd. Shoojat Ali Khan, ... " "

- 34th. Nuwab Azim Khan, ... 1128 H. 1715 A. D.  
 35th. Mohabut Khan,... ... 1132 H. 1719 A. D.  
 36th. Sooltan Mahomoud Khan, not known.  
 37th. Serf Ullah Khan, ... „ „  
 38th. Dileerdil Khan,... ... 1143 H. 1730 A. D.  
 39th. Himmud Dileer Khan, ... „ „

The above appear to have been *Sobadhars* who farmed the revenue, at the same time exercising all the functions of governors. The last of these mentioned as preceding the *Kaloras*, is *Sadik Alli Khan*, who abandoned his contract from inability to perform it, and it was taken up by *Noor Mahomed Ubbaseer Kalora*, son of *Noor Mahomed Kalora*, 1st of the family who ruled 1149 H. 1736 A. D. *Yar Mahomed* in the year 1149 H. 1736 A. D. He was the first of the family invested with power as a ruler in *Sindh*, and although in his father's time the *Kaloras* were of some importance as *zumeendars*, their *jahgeer* was at *Futtehpoor*.

This family trace their origin to *Abbas*, the uncle of the prophet, whence it descends through various generations to *Adam Shah* of *Beelooch* extraction, a *Sheikh* of great repute, who possessed many disciples in *Sindh*, and who was the founder of the prosperity and power which afterwards attended the *Kaloras* in that country.

#### *Noor Mahomed Kalora.*

The beginning of his government was attended with constant feuds and strife with the tribes of *Burhoe* and *Dawood Pootreh*, (*Belooches*), the cause of dispute being boundary of territory. About the year 1150 H. 1737 A. D. *Nadir Shah* when he visited *Sindh*, took *Noor Mahomed* prisoner; but on his paying a crore of rupees to the emperor, he was released and restored to his possessions, with the additional title of *Kullie Khan*.

After this he became firmly settled in the government of the country.

After the assassination of *Nadir Shah*, *Sindh* became subject to *Ahmed Shah Afghan Sudoozie*, king of *Cabool*. *Noor Mahomed* was succeeded by his son *Murad Yab Khan*, who only ruled however for a short time, and was succeeded by his brother *Ghullam Shah*.

In the commencement of his reign he was employed in putting down an insurrection under his brother *Uttur Khan*; but having settled the dissensions and civil discords in *Sindh*, he made an incursion upon

*Cutch*, rendered remarkable for the great battle of Battle of *Jharra*.

*Jharra*, which was fought with *Rao Gore* upon the occasion. He died after a rule of 17 years. His brother *Uttur Khan* seized the reins of government, but only retained them for a short time, and was succeeded by *Surafrax Khan*, son of *Ghullam Shah*.  
*Surafrax Khan*.

Shortly after coming to power, he allowed his mind to be poisoned by one *Rajah Leckie* against a chief of distinction in his service, named *Byram Khan Talpoor*. *Byram* being informed of the threatened evil, took counsel with his sons *Sobhdar* and *Bejur* Murders *Byram* and his son *Sobhdar*. to avert it; but *Surafrax* put both *Byram* and his son *Sobhdar* to death; *Bejur* fled to *Mecca*.

*Futteh Alli Khan*, the son of *Sobhdar* raised an insurrection to revenge his father's death, and *Surafrax Khan* fled *Futteh Ali Khan* drives out *Surafrax*. to the fort of *Hyderabad*, where he was imprisoned.

His brother *Mahomed Khan* succeeded him for a short time; but was deposed by *Ghullam Nubbee*, brother of *Ghullam Shah*. *Bejur Khan Talpoor*, son of *Byram*, at this time arrived from *Mecca* at *Neirunkote*, and *Ghullam Nubbee* sought an opportunity to destroy him. *Bejur* having collected followers an engagement ensued, in which *Ghullam Nubbee* was killed, and Death of *Gullam Nubbee*.

*Bejur Khan* became master of *Sindh*, putting *Abdul Nubbee*, the brother of *Ghullam Nubbee*, in his brother's place, as governor of the country. *Abdul Nubbee's* first act was to destroy *Surafrax Khan*, *Mahomed Khan*, *Uttur Khan*, and *Meer Mahomed*, at *Hyderabad*, where they were imprisoned.\* His next, to send *Ijut Khan* with a force to attack *Bejur Khan*; the former was defeated. *Abdul Nubbee* afterwards murdered Murders *Bejur Khan*—the *Talpoors* drive out the family of the *Kaloras*, &c. *Bejur Khan*, when the *Talpoors* drove out *Abdul Nubbee*, putting the affairs of the country in the hands of *Futteh Alli Khan Talpoor*, son of *Sobhdar* and grandson of *Byram*, in which *Timoor Shah* confirmed him. He gave a share of his power

\* This wholesale system of putting princes out of the world, is vouched for in the "*Futteh Nameh*."

to each of his brothers, *Ghullam Ali*, *Kurm Ali*, and *Murad Ali*. *Futteh Ali Khan* and *Ghullam* died; the former in 1801 A. D. 1216 H., and the latter in 1811 A. D. 1226 H. *Futteh Ali* left a son, (*Sobdhar*,) and *Ghullam* also (*Mahomed*,) who with their uncles, *Murad Ali* and *Kurum Ali*, share the government of *Sindh*, with the title of *Ameers*.

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NOTE.—It is impossible to add to the already very luminous and interesting history given by Dr. J. Burnes in his visit to the Court of Sindh, of the rulers of the families of the Kaloras and Talpuras; as my paper would not however have been complete without some notice of their dynasties; I have compressed them into a close and small space, leaving out most of those incidents which have been so graphically described by Dr. Burnes.

T. P.

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*Notes on the Manners and Habits of the Torkoman Tribes, with some Geographical Notices of the Country they occupy.—By*  
EDWARD STIRLING, Esq. B. C. S.

The *khonat* of *Khiva* has been described by Mr. M. Mouraviev, who was sent by Russia as an envoy to the Khan, at great length, and he has given considerable interest in the deplorable tale of his sufferings. A barbarous nation, in the lowest state of civilization, can have very few objects to engage much attention; and if we except their peculiar manners and customs, and mode of warfare, they are entirely destitute of attractions to the inhabitant of a more refined atmosphere. Without antiquities, edifices, laws, learning, science, arts, and commerce, they have little to *satisfy* or *create* curiosity.

The Torkomans bear the greatest resemblance of all other nations to the Arabians; but they are not decorated with their antiquity of origin; their celebrity, as conquerors, as legislators, and as fanatics; their learning, and their reputed science. While the Arabian *Khaliffs* ruled as the *vicegerents* of Mahomed, the Torkomans were reckoned among the number of their slaves. Their manners are similar; they are equally the children of the Desert, inured to fatigue; pride themselves on their horses and mares; infest the high roads for the purpose of plunder, and enslaving their victims; war among themselves;



manufacture their own tents, clothes, and horse furniture ; tend large flocks of cattle ; move from place to place ; cultivate small portions of land ; eat horse and camel flesh ; and make distant excursions.

They differ from the Arabs yet in several points ; they are more wealthy ; they have less respect for their ancestors ; they have not that romantic sort of love for the other sex ; they do not hold the rights of hospitality to be so essentially incumbent upon them ; they are not so strongly impressed with the obligation of the law of *lex talionis* ; they frequently stain their predatory attacks with murder, which the Arabs always, if possible, avoid ; they are less subject to the vicissitudes of season, as they live in a more temperate climate ; they have a less defensible country, and have been frequently conquered ; they make captures for the purpose of selling them, and this forms their chief article of commerce with *Bokhara*. In their enterprizes they are bold, bloody, desperate, and cruel ; from their enemy they do not expect, and give no quarter, unless to make a slave of their adversary, for the purpose of disposing of him at the best market ; they murder the old men and women, and only take away with them such as may bring a good price, and reimburse them for their trouble ; they are more sordid, less hospitable and generous, and inferior in magnanimity to the Arab ; they have larger forms, fuller faces, broader and more expansive foreheads, smaller eyes, and are more ugly and cunning than the Arab ; they shew a few hairs where we expect to see beard ; large mouths, strong teeth, and moderate sized lips. Their cap distinguishes them from the Persian ; from bottom to top it is large and circular, of the same diameter, and not conical as that of the Kassilbash cut ; it is placed on an enormous head, seated on a short but thick neck, and this pillar is supported by a pair of broad shoulders, which gives the outline of a large and expanded body and a full chest. Their food consists of bread, soup, and pillao, diversified with cheese, milk, and fruits.

They generally eat twice a day ; their breakfast is light, composed of bread with fruit or syrup. Their dinner is more substantial, meat under some form always forming the chief portion of it.

The Torkomans are divided into a great many tribes independent of each other, who have their respective chiefs and white beards, (*suffed resh.*)

The country of the Torkomans may be considered, generally speaking, bounded on the north by the river *Ammoo*, and on the south by the river *Tedjen*; but these rivers wind very much, and perhaps it may be better to state the southern boundary of the country to be the Parapamisan range, and from thence north it extends as far as the *Ammoo* river. On the east, it approaches the confines of *Balk* and the towns of *Aukooree*, *Seripool*, *Shiberghan*, on the borders of the Desert. On the west the limit is distinct, it is the *Caspian* sea.

*Khiva* is the capital of a portion of this extensive country; but the more distant Torkoman tribes hold themselves, generally speaking, separate and independent of its rulers. *Orgunge* is the general appellation of this state on the north of *Khorassan*, and among the Torkomans of *Shurraks*. In ancient times this wild, desert, and inhospitable country would appear to have been inhabited by the tribes or races denominated the *Dahæ*, the *Getes*, and *Massagetes*, and the *Mimunceni*.

They have always been noted for their turbulent character and predatory habits, and for rearing that superb horse, which enables them to perform the most extraordinary journeys. The Sultans of *Kharizm* are famous in history. Malek Shah is represented as a noble, high-minded, and liberal sovereign; and the bearing and courage of Jillaladeen, the last sovereign of the Seljukian race, excited the enthusiastic praises even of Genjhis Khan, while he viewed him swimming his horse across the rapid current of the Indus, still continuing to let fly his arrows at him whilst landing on the bank of the stream, admiring his intrepidity. A king of *Kharizm* is mentioned by the historian Arrian, but he makes his residence west of the Caspian, next the country of the Amazons: this locality seems in my opinion evidently a mistake of the copyist.

The brave resistance and the frequent revolts of this people are mentioned by Arrian and Quintus Curtius.

The people of these countries, together with the Sogdians and Scythians, appear to have been the first who checked Alexander's career. The above-quoted historians allow that his detachments were often surprised and defeated; his campaign in this country would seem to have been very harassing, the labour and sufferings of his soldiers

very great. It is scarcely to be expected from posthumous historians that in relating the transactions which occurred in a distant and nearly unknown country, where a different language prevailed, that the correctness of their geographical information should be such as to enable us to trace with minuteness the various cities and petty kingdoms which they have occasion to mention at the distance of two thousand years.\* It is with difficulty we can even guess at the principal places reported by these historians of Alexander the Great to have been subdued by him.

One of the most interesting places to inquire the situation of, it appears to me to be the hill fort, which seems to have been occupied by the Sogdians. This I imagine is no other than the *Killat Nadir*,† which very accurately corresponds with the description given of it by Arrian and Quintus Curtius. The names of nations and cities are very much confounded together, and this would appear to be the case with the Sogdians, Scythians, and Bactrians.‡ This rock may perhaps be thought likewise to answer to that of *Aornas*, since travellers have in vain inquired for it on the banks of the *Indus*; for Arrian says, that Alexander leaving *Herat* (*Aria*) went to the cities of *Aornas* and *Bactria*. *Killat Nadir* is situated on the borders of the Desert,

\* With reference to the above, the following are submitted; some of them I have endeavoured to settle:—

Drapsaca? Budukshan.

Margiana. Marghina, the valley of the Moorgab river and the territory adjoining.

Nantaca? Sogdiana.

Drangæ? People inhabiting one of the mountain ranges of the Parapamisan spine. They are characterized by Quintus Curtius as “*Bellecosa Nazione*.”

Dai. The Cashgar people inhabiting the Western hills as far as Darwas. These hills are called the “*Beeloor Tay*” I believe.

Mæotis. The lake Aral.

Paratucas?

Choriensis Petra? This is perhaps the present Kellati Nadir in Khorassan.

Nicæa sacro?

Thyrceas?

Ara Sacos? This may be conceived a place of worship of the *Sacæ*, who were a tribe of Scythians.

Jenippa? Is represented a vastly rich and populous country, which attracted, by its fruitfulness, settlers from all parts. This territory was situated on the borders of Scythia and would correspond to the present Fergana.

† Vide B. Frazer. It is situated north of Meshid, on the borders of the Desert.

‡ These are described as all horsemen who exercise the profession of plunderers even in the time of peace. The Torkomans of the present day are now more barbarous in their cruelties, if possible, in quiet times, than during war.

north of *Meshid*; it is perhaps as strong as any hill fort defended by natural works can possibly be. It has all the advantages of scarped rocks, which form an invincible barrier to an enemy, and must be nearly impregnable to a force destitute of shells. It has, moreover, extensive pasturages and cultivated fields, together with water in great abundance, which probably would never fail. Of all natural defences this is the strongest situated within or near the Torkoman Desert. In this stronghold an army of many thousands might remain secure against every attack of their enemies. It has three gates, one on the north, another on the east, and the last on the south; by these alone it can be entered.

The same mode of warfare, and the same manners of these wild tribes exactly tally with those given by Arrian and Quintus Curtius. *Omnes equites, etiam in pace latrociniis assueti, tam ferocia ingenia non bellum modo sed etiam veniæ desperantes asservant.\** Their perfidy, villany, and barbarity, are as conspicuous now as in the days of Alexander. The Torkomans and the Usbecks are guided by the same principles and sentiments; are the same lawless, restless, and ungovernable race as the Sogdians, the Dahæ, the Massagetes, and the Scythians. The introduction of the religion of Mahomed has wrought little change in their morals, manners, customs, and socialities. Attached to no principles of moral rectitude themselves, they cannot conceive the existence of them in others. From their infancy accustomed to wander and to change their abodes; habituated to scenes of violence and bloodshed, in the perpetration of which no justifiable reason can be assigned, and restrained by no sense of order, reason, and humanity, they aspire to independence, and shun all subjection, whether of a moral or physical nature. Self-defence and preservation are their first consideration; self-aggrandisement and self-exaltation, the next; and in pursuit of this latter object, any and every means, even unto parricide, fratricide, infanticide, and regicide; but even the magnitude of such crimes are exceeded, frequently in the extermination of whole communities of people and extirpation of nations.

The *Oxus* is a river of considerable magnitude; it has a course of upwards of nine hundred miles from its source; its width and depth have not been exactly ascertained, it is however considered unford-

\* Quintus Curtius, p. 231



able, and has no bridges. The latest traveller, Mr. Moorcroft, found no difficulty in passing it; but unfortunately he omits to state in what manner his passage was effected. The main stream of the *Oxus* is formed of two branches. The right branch is called the *Ping Diria*, and the left branch, which comes from *Baduckshan*, is joined in its course from the *Hindoo Cosh* by several streams, and unites with the *Ping* river near *Hazerut Imam*.

Generally the *Ammoo* or *Oxus* is represented as a muddy, rapid, deep, dirty and sand-bearing river, and to travellers from Persia the largeness of the stream, and the quantity of water, is considered as somewhat wonderful, and they can only compare it with the *Tigris* or *Euphrates*. Mr. Moorcroft thinks it might be rendered navigable\* from lake *Aral* to *Baduckshan*; in support of this supposition it is said, that Nadir Shah directed a thousand boats to be made and prepared for transporting his troops from *Baduckshan*, (or rather *Khundooz*,) to *Bokhara* and *Kharism*. According to Mr. Moorcroft, boats might be towed up by horses; that horses for draught might be easily obtained at a small expence; but before this could be put into execution, some knowledge of the banks on either side seems to be requisite. Alexander found it a difficult matter to cross: he could get no materials of which to construct a bridge, and was obliged to adopt (*then* as it is now in many parts) the practice used in the country, of making rafts by means of blown skins, the buoyancy of which had the desired effect; several rafts thus constructed were sufficient to enable his army to pass this river in the course of five or six days. The Torkomans and the Allemaneest† are in the habit of swimming their horses across. The subsidiary branches are frequently crossed by individuals on cows, where the stream is very rapid. There are various contrivances for passing it in different parts of its course, to which the natives are habituated. The *Cabool* river is passed by

\* The *Ammoo* has never been navigated; but as far as I can judge from personal observation, there exists not a single obstacle formidable to its navigation. In respect to barks of large burden especially, if conducted by a steam apparatus, and if objections not foreseen should apply to its agency, I can discover no more against tracking than apply to the Ganges, with a superior advantage of the command of as many horses as would possibly be required for that purpose, at a very low price.—*Mr. Moorcroft's MS. letter from Bokhara.*

† The name of the gangs that go out forays.

means of blown cow or buffaloe skins, which are fastened to a slight raft of twigs. These rafts are called *jallahs*; they are very troublesome to manage, and dangerous, and accidents often happen. While the baggage and owners are thus ferried across, the cattle following each other swim to the opposite side. The *Oxus* is frequently frozen over; when this is the case, it can be crossed upon the ice. It abounds in fish, but we do not know that fishing is an occupation much followed by those who reside on its banks. Before it reaches the *Aral* it would seem to be divided into several streams, besides those canals which have been cut for the purpose of being conducted to remote spots of cultivation: the principal towns situated on these divided streams are *Oorgunge*, *Khiva*, *Toorbat*, *Suggur*, and *Sulughan*;\* but these are probably little better than large encampments, except *Khiva* and *Oorgunge*, which are walled, and have ditches; but these defences are very miserable even in the opinion of the people of *Bokhara*. The southern bank of the river, and perhaps the other likewise, is covered for a considerable distance from the river with lofty reeds, which form a kind of forest, in which the Torkomans pitch their tents and feed their cattle; and I rather suspect that wild beasts also exist in these masses of reeds. Whence the ancients called this river the *Oxus*, as it bears no resemblance to the modern names, the *Ammoo* and the *Jehoon* has not yet been ascertained. Mr. Moorcroft has offered a supposition, that that it is derived from the Turkish word *aksoo*; this appears to me a happy etymology, as it characterizes the river, the word signifying a white river.

The banks of this stream are much frequented by the Torkomans; they annually cultivate small patches to supply themselves with grain on this side of the river; the best and most approved horses are bred, especially the *karrabay*, reared by the Torkomans. It is one of the finest castes which is procurable. The government of the Torkoman resembles that of a father over his family; each head of a family exercises absolute authority over its members; these consist of his wives, his children, his slaves, and such dependents

\* At *Oorgunge* my informant left the banks of the *Oxus*, situated eight coss from the main channel. From this he travelled to the N. N. W. passing the towns of *Toorbat*, *Suggur*, and *Sulughan* on to the city of *Khiva*, situated on the banks of a large river called the *Heelem*, nearly as large as the *Oxus*.—Lieut. Macartney's *Memoirs*, see *Appendix to Elphinstone's Cabool*, page 648.

who are too weak or too poor to have separate establishments, submit themselves to his authority, and live under his protection. These dependents are frequently relations, or somehow connected by near or more distant ties of blood. The orphans and relations of other chiefs, who have died without leaving any heir of sufficient years to provide for their families, are also united to them by a remembrance of the friendship which subsisted between the two chiefs before one of them died ; and so long as they are treated with consideration, they seldom think of separating from the chief who has shewn them kindness and assisted them in their difficulties. Several heads of families form an *owl*, who unite themselves, and in conjunction make their annual peregrinations for the sake of pasturing their flocks, or for the purpose of proceeding to a distant spot near some river or stream, to rear their crops to supply them with grain. These migrations generally commence about the beginning of spring, upon the breaking up of the winter, when the snow melts and the weather becomes warmer ; at this period of the year, pasturage for the cattle is plentiful every where, and water is abundant. This is a season in which the Torkoman delights, and his flocks and beasts sympathise with him. They yield him their young, and a vast quantity of milk ; they become fat and sleek, and travel with alacrity to new pastures. It is at this time that parties are made up to go on forays ; one of these gangs generally consists of from twenty to sixty horsemen, well mounted and armed with swords and spears, and not seldom with matchlocks and pistols. Before hand, the object of their expedition is settled, which is generally to way-lay a *kafila*, or body of travellers ; on some occasions very large bodies are united to make expeditions on particular points of attack—such as on the frontier of Persia. *Meshid* was an instance of this a short time before my arrival in 1828. The Torkomans on this occasion joined several bodies of *Hazerahs* and *Jumshidies*, to ensure the success of the expedition ; a quantity of booty was obtained, such as horses, mules, and slaves of different sexes. The attack having been made shortly after sunrise, when the cattle of the city had left it for the purpose of grazing, they found no opposition in driving them away, together with the captives.

The dress of the Torkomans in general consists of a pair of *pijamahs* or *shelnars*, which are fastened at the ancle ; over these they wear

a pair of high boots, which reach to the knee, commonly made of red Russian leather; for a shirt they wear next their skin a *perahan*, (tunic); over the *pijammahs* and *perahan*, they wear a *chogha* or cloak with sleeves, which is fastened by a slender *kummarbund* made of cloth or leather, to which is attached two knives in a case and a small purse. Above the under *chogha* they often put on a second, which is allowed to remain loose pending from the shoulders. On their head they have a black lamb-skin cap, with the wool of a jet colour and naturally curled.

The shape of this cap is not of a conical form as that of the Persians. Its diameter is the same at the top as at the part which immediately encircles the head.

They always wear a sword, (*shumsheer*,) which is either carried in the hand or fastened to the waist. They seldom wear a *peshkubz*. Their *choghas* are made of some blue cloth in the warm months, and of coarse woollen cloth in the cold season; the latter are either grey camel hair, coloured or black. The women are remarkable for wearing lofty turbans; they are fond of silks and splendid colours for their dresses. When young, their hair is allowed to grow long and unconfined, divided into plaits, to which are fastened behind small pieces of silver; some tribes wear their hair loose and exposed, others conceal it by turbans having loose locks hanging down. Their appearance has a certain rudeness, but not without something striking and interesting. The occupations of the men are predatory attacks; the chase; the breeding and the care, exercise, and instruction of their horses; tending their cattle; supervision of their slaves and their women, who are employed in making carpets, musnuds, (or felts,) loose furniture; overlooking their fields, and directing agricultural employments, and ploughing, sowing, and reaping; the setting up, taking down, and loading their tents. They are more accustomed to command than to obey. They exact implicit obedience from their wives, children, and dependents of all kinds. Their amusements are few. They like music, warlike anecdotes, breaking in their horses, exercising themselves in the use of the sword and the lance, and sometimes in using the matchlock. They delight in feasts and the pleasures of the table. They chase deer with an excellent breed of grey-hounds. Their women are employed in house-



hold duties, often have separate tents ; subject to them are female slaves, who act under their orders ; they prepare the ordinary food of the family, wash the linen, make up clothes for their husbands and themselves ; churn and make the coagulated milk and cheese ; bake the bread, and bring the water from the rivulet or fountain ; they assist in erecting the tents, in laying down the *nummud*, and cleaning the floor. They do not cover their faces with that scrupulosity that is practised in Persia ; they do not hide their faces except from newly-arrived strangers ; their manners are free and unconstrained ; their duties compel them to be much exposed to the climate. They are fond of singing and sometimes dance, particularly at marriages. I found them kind in supplying my wants ; both the men and the women are much given to pass their time in idleness and listlessness, and require much excitement to rouse them to action. In physical appearance the Torkomans are very muscular, large-bodied men ; they have very thick short necks, enormous heads with a broad front ; they have scanty beards which seldom exceed a few straggling hairs upon the chin. In their manners they are rude ; in their eating dirty and uncleanly ; their victuals are often imperfectly dressed by fire ; they are fond of animal food ; eat goat's flesh, and that of any animal which they can obtain.

These notes, (written in 1830,) were kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Stirling, and are the result of that gentleman's personal observations during his travels in a part of Asia, little known in 1828. He has also obliged me with papers on Bokhara and Kothan, which will appear in their course.



*Discovery of Coal in a new site. By W. DUNBAR, ESQ. Assistant Surgeon, 5th Irregular Cavalry.*

Camp Burree,  
22 miles from Hazareebaugh,

In marching about a week ago from *Dorunda* to *Hazareebaugh*, I halted one day at *Bullea*, a very considerable village about fourteen miles to the south of the latter station. Having heard reports that there was coal to be found in the vicinity, I requested the *Kotwal*, a very intelligent and obliging man, to show me where it was, we proceeded a mile up the banks of a considerable nullah, called the *Haharoo*. The soil appeared to be mostly alluvial, containing in some places a good deal of *kanker*. The greater part was cut into rice *khets*. On the banks of the *Suncheraie*, a small nullah running into the *Haharoo*, I first saw the coal in a bed about three feet in thickness, with a gentle dip or inclination to the west. It was splintery, very black, lying below a friable sandstone, and alluvium containing *kanker*. The bed seemed to be of great extent, and I have no doubt that any quantity of coal can be procured at this place. I brought some specimens with me to my tent, and found that those from near the surface did not burn well; in fact it was with some difficulty I could get them to ignite at all. The others burned very well indeed, without a great deal of smoke, and leaving an inconsiderable quantity of ashes. The coal bed seemed to have been never worked, and I had some trouble in clearing away the grass and bushes, to procure the specimens which I took with me. I have some of these still in my possession, and regret that I have no opportunity of forwarding them to you at present, for the opinion of better judges than myself.

At *Bullea* there are large and very extensive iron works, employing a great many persons, and yet strange to say, though most of the inhabitants are aware of the existence of this extensive coal bed, they never use it for their furnaces; but are at great expense in transporting wood and charcoal from the forest, several miles distant. I endeavored to impress upon some of the workmen how advantageous it would be, and what a saving would accrue to them, were they to use this coal; but by

their answers, they evinced their utter indifference to the subject, and their determination to adhere to the customs of their fathers. The coal bed is not above a mile distant from the works.

The village of *Bullea* is very prettily situated, and the view from it in every direction very picturesque. Towards the N. W. and at a distance of three or four miles, is a semicircular range of hills called the *Mahoodée Pahar*, very much resembling, though scarcely equalling in altitude the Salisbury Crag, at Edinburgh ; that is to say, there is a steep *talus* (formed in a great measure to all appearance from debris, which have fallen from above) of 200 or 300 feet elevation, and then you come on a steep precipice, which it appears impossible to scale. The *Haharoo Nuddee* winds in beautiful meanderings along the base of this high range. Hilly ranges of considerable altitude surround the plain on which *Bullea* is situated, and I regretted much that I had no time to examine their formation, or even to visit the *Mahoodée Pahar*, which was not very far distant from my camp. In a commercial point of view, little or no importance can be attached to the discovery of coal at *Bullea*, at least in the present day. It is near no navigable river ; no public works of any importance are in its vicinity, excepting the iron works above alluded to, and it will require more than persuasion I am afraid, to induce the natives to abandon the use of wood and charcoal, for a cheaper and more useful material. The roads passing over steep and rocky ghauts, are by no means in a good state, though it is to be expected, owing to the exertions of Major Ousely, Governor General's Agent, that they will soon be much improved.

[This paper was communicated immediately on its receipt to Government, but having been subsequently mislaid, has not appeared at an early date as it should have done.]

*Succinct Review of the Observations of the Tides in the Indian Archipelago, made during the year 1839, by order of his Excellency the Governor General, of his Netherlandish Majesty's possessions, 20th October, 1838. No. 3.*

[This interesting report was transmitted to the Asiatic Society by the Society of Arts at Batavia. It has been translated for the Journal from the original Dutch, by my friend Dr. Roer, the translator of Lassen's Points of History.]



The tides have been observed at Pulo Chinco on the West coast of Sumatra to the southward of Padang, from the 10th February 1839 to the first of January 1840, being ten months and three quarters, by the naval lieutenants of the second class, G. J. Fabricius and J. de Hoon.

At Muntok on Bornea, from the 15th January 1839 to the first of January 1840, being eleven months and a half, by the naval lieutenant of the second class, P. C. Reuchenius.

On the Island Onrust near Batavia, from the 1st January 1839 to the 1st January 1840, being twelve months, by the naval lieutenant of the first class, Director of Onrust, J. Sigtorel.

At Fagol, on the north coast of Java, from the 1st January 1839 to the 1st January 1840, being twelve months, by the naval lieutenant of the second class, F. J. E. Van Goreum.

At Klampsis, on the north coast of Madura, from the 10th February 1839 to the 1st January 1840, being eleven months and three quarters, by the naval lieutenants of the second class, J. A. K. Van Hasfelt and J. Van Gool.

At Filatjap, on the north coast of Java, from the 1st of January 1839 to the 1st January 1840, being twelve months, by the naval lieutenant of the second class, J. A. G. Rictoeld.

To these have been added some less complete observations on Amboyna, from the 23rd March 1839 to the 1st January 1840, being nine months and a quarter, by the master, J. Kecutebol, and the naval lieutenants of the second class, J. A. Ricffer and J. A. W. High.

At Taparo, from the commencement of May 1839 to the close of December 1839, by the assistant resident of Tapora, Winkelman.



Also on the Coriman Islands, from the 18th July 1838 to April 1839, by deputy of the civil service, Michalosske.

These two latter observations were forwarded by the favour of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, which had already previously made (at the request of Prof. Whewell, Trinity College, Cambridge) some communications with regard to the tides in this Archipelago, to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta ; besides these, there were some observations made at Macassar in the year 1840, by the master in the navy, E. Lagto, after they had been finished at the other stations.

These observations furnish the following results concerning the respective stations :—

At Pulo Chinco off Fjinks, West coast of Sumatra. The course of the flood tide and the rise of the water on the coast was observed to run from N. E. to S. W., closely following the direction of the coast.

The ebb tide ran in the opposite direction, and though both tides were very trifling, not exceeding a quarter of a mile, yet the force of the ebb generally exceeded that of the flood, though neither were sensibly influenced by the wind.

The tides were, however, very regular. The mean duration was about six hours and a quarter, so that as usual, there were two tides in a day.

At new and full moon the high water was generally between 5h. 30m. and 6h. 30m. viz.

At new moon.	A. M. at 6h. 24m.
	P. M. at 6 30
At full moon.	A. M. at 5 28
	P. M. at 5 35

average time about 6—00, and the time of flood tide during the other days, followed the common rule, dependant upon the moon's passing the meridian, according to which, though not always with the same regularity the tide came in every day generally about three quarters of an hour later, or rather in the course of a fortnight the variation amounted to twelve hours. If then six hours be supposed as mean number, it was almost always flood tide when the moon was in the horizon.

From the time of high water to the time when it again turns to ebb, as is here noticed, we may be allowed to fix 5h. 30m. as the mean number.

The mean rise and fall was about ebb,	...	...	0	78
The greatest ditto ditto,	...	...	1	49
The smallest ditto ditto,	...	...	0	6

The difference in the elevation of the succeeding tides is remarkable, viz. a greater rise and a smaller one were perceived to take place alternately, and in the same manner also the ebb tides.\* This alternation of flow and ebb which is very regular may hereafter be shown to be in connection with the moon's decrease, though perhaps more so at this place than at the other stations of the Archipelago.

The greatest difference between high and low water, as well as the highest rise, occurred in October and November, and generally in the months when the West monsoon prevails.

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*At Filitjap, South coast of Java.*

On the south coast of Java the tides were most regular in all respects, consequently the observations made upon them are best adapted to furnish a general rule.

The course of the flood tide was to the West into the outlet, and followed the direction of its shore. The ebb tide ran in an opposite course. In the westerly passage or creek of Segara Anakon, the tides had a course quite the reverse; here the streams met consequently the rise and fall took place without stream. In general the stream appears to run, at least in the East monsoon, along the coast to the East, at the rate of half a mile in four hours. In the straits of Filitjap in the West monsoon, the ebb and flood tides ran at the rate of two and three miles, and in the East monsoon at five and five and a half miles. The tides evidently follow here, as well as at Pulo Chinco, the common rule. The mean duration of rise and fall was about six hours and a half, and this took place with much regularity, two tides in one day; but also smaller rises and falls between the usual ones have been sometimes noticed, amounting to 0-20 ebb. The duration of still water is here very regular for ten or fifteen minutes after high and low water. The ebbs and floods are about equal in force and duration. At new and full moon the mean time of the flood tide was between eight and nine hours, viz.

\* NOTE.—A nautical friend has pointed out that night tides are generally the highest, thus giving an alternation.

At new moon at. 9h. 18m. P. M.

and at 8 53 A. M.

At full moon at 8 45 P. M.

and at 8 19 A. M.

Average of the time 8 48

and therefore as the time of flood tide is noticed to the moment when the water again commences to decrease, we may fix here, as mean number, 8h. 30m., considering that here also the period of the flood tide during the fortnight passed the space of 12h.

At this station was observed the same remarkable fact as at Pulo Chinco, that at new moon it was high water an hour later than at full moon.

The mean rise and fall of the water was 1. 25 ebb.

the greatest 2. 42

the smallest 0. 10.

The greatest difference in the rise and fall of the tide took place some days after the new and full moon, not however exceeding 2.63 ebb. The highest water mark was observed in the East monsoon.

The difference of the rise and fall of the succeeding tides is here very notable, and appears more than elsewhere to be in connection with the decrease of the moon. The morning and evening tides are different, especially at the decrease of the moon, while they were about equal at the time of the moon's passing the Equator.

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*At Amboyna.*

Although the streams in the bay are not strong, and sometimes only run from two miles to two and a half, and the turns of the tide very irregularly take place, we may state that the stream of the flood tide in the East monsoon runs into the bay along the northern coast to the E. and runs out along the southern coast to the S. W. The opposite course takes place in the West monsoon, while in the middle of the bay little or no stream is observed.

The duration of the rise and fall of the water is here very regular, about six hours and a quarter, so that the flood occurs about twice a day, and in a fortnight loses about twelve hours.

At new moon the mean time of high water was about

A. M. 0h. 34m.

P. M. 0 46.

At full moon A. M. 0 06.

P. M. 0 38.

Average of time 0. 30. or 33m.

The month of December makes an exception to this, and might encourage the supposition of another mean number during the West monsoon, unless the observations made in that month exhibited a want of accuracy, on account of which they are not to be relied on.

At new moon here also, as well as at Filitjap and Pulo Chinco, the flood tide appears to come in always later than at full moon; the mean rise and fall was about ... 1. 14. ebb.

The greatest ditto ditto ... 2. 50. ebb.

The smallest rise observed at several places was scarcely perceptible. A small rise was alternately taking place with a great one, and the same occurred with the fall. The difference of the succeeding rises and falls is here likewise deserving notice. The greatest difference between high and low water took place in April and July.

The highest water mark was in April, November, and December. These remarks are made on observations taken during the period from April to December, and especially during the East monsoon.

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*At Klampsis, on the Northern coast of Madura.*

It appears from the observations that were made, that there was no flood or ebb stream perceptible during the East monsoon, and in the month of May the stream had always during the day a Westerly direction, with the velocity from two miles to two and a half; while at night little or no stream was observed; it sometimes likewise ran to the East. The month of July forming the only exception to this, when in the night also the stream ran to the West, with a force of about two to three miles. In this monsoon the water is generally falling during the day and the stream then strongest, while during the night the water is generally rising; the stream however has little force.

These facts suggest the inference, that if ebb and flood tide here actually exist, the ebb tide has a Westerly direction, while the flood runs

to the East; this latter, however, is almost annihilated by Easterly winds. In the West monsoons, the stream runs to the East with little force, and the water rises during the day; the flood stream should accordingly run in this season to the East; but then at night scarcely any stream is perceived, and the ebb tide which then runs, was observed to be annihilated by the Westerly winds.

*East Monsoon.**West Monsoon.*

&lt;— Wind E.

—&gt; Wind W.

During the day fallg. <— Stream during the day or ebb. During day —> Stream during the day flood

Night rising <— Stream during the night or flood. Night falling —> Stream during the night ebb.

The mean duration of the rise and fall of the water is during the whole year eleven and half to twelve and half, so that here ebb and flood occur only once in the same day; nevertheless it appears that here often little rises and falls, or those called short tides, have obtained alternately with them. It is worth noticing, that during a certain period the flood tide always took place before noon, and during the remainder of the year in the evening; namely, in May, June, and July the time of flood tide was daily in the morning about nine o'clock, and one o'clock in the afternoon, without regular yet constant retardation; this period from time to time suddenly shifting to an interval of six hours. In the first half of August, this period occurred between half-past seven and half-past eleven A. M. In the latter part of the same month, between half-past five and eleven A. M. In September between one o'clock and half-past ten A. M. In October between midnight and six o'clock A. M. In the latter days of November between nine o'clock A. M. and midnight. In February between three, half-past three, and half-past eleven o'clock P. M.; and so on, until in May this period again occurred before noon.

Thus it can be proved that in the E. monsoon, the flood tide took place always before noon, and therefore the fall of the water and also the ebb was during the day; and in the West monsoon after noon, so that the fall of the water and also the ebb were in the night, while the opposite was observed with regard to high water and the flood tide, as the mean interval from the period of the one flood tide



to that of the next was about twelve or thirteen. The succeeding tides, or the duration of that of the rise and fall generally decreased in an inverted arithmetical progression from between nine to fifteen hours; the difference between the rise and the succeeding fall of the water was most remarkable at new and full moon. There has been a single instance, in which the duration of the fall did not exceed an hour, while again a rising of three-quarters of an hour has been observed.

The sum of the two succeeding tides, or the duration of the rise of the water and the succeeding fall, always amounted to somewhat more than twenty-four hours.

This was not the case as regards the height of the tide and of the succeeding fall, which was almost constantly equal.

Here also, as elsewhere, it is notable, that a great rise and fall occurs alternately with a small one, and the difference in the rise and fall decreases till no longer perceptible, when it again increases, which phenomenon must (at least at the first glance) be accounted for as the effect of a powerful cause; as for instance, the decrease of the moon as has been already done.

The common rules are here also not sufficient to calculate the time of high water. It also deserves notice, that at new and full moon the flood tide generally, excepting some instances in October and April, came in between eight and ten o'clock, viz. the morning, when the afore-said periods in which, according to the season of the year, the flood tide must take place, corresponded with the morning, that is in the East monsoon, and in the evening, when the converse took place, that is in the West monsoon.

The flood of eight or ten o'clock, whether in the morning or in the evening, took place in almost all periods, as above mentioned.

The period of the flood tide at new and full moon cannot, however, be averaged or used to calculate the mean time of high water for another day.

The mean rise and fall of the water was,... 1· 12 ebb.

The greatest, ... .. 2· 13

The smallest, ... .. 0· 11

The greatest difference between high and low water occurred in May, June, and December, after new and full moon, though this by no means was always the case.

The highest water-mark was likewise observed about this period.

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*At Fagol, on the north coast of Java.*

It appears that here also, as at Klampsis, no streams of ebb and flood, strictly speaking, are to be found, the tides generally being very irregular, and the streams, which seem to be dependent on the wind, at most amounting to a quarter or half a mile.

The duration of the rise and fall has a singular course. In January it is sometimes six hours, so that there accordingly flood and ebb tides occur generally twice in a day; and only one rise and fall of much longer duration than ordinarily is perceived at new and full moon. In the succeeding months, these longer tides repeatedly occur after new and full moon, so that at this period, for several succeeding days, the flood tide comes in but once a day, and thus also the ebb, and the duration of the rise and fall of the water is respectively twelve hours. In May, about new and full moon, they continue for eight days, and likewise the whole month of June the duration of the ebb and flood tide is respectively twelve hours; so that there is but one flood and ebb tide during the day.

Then again in July, at new and full moon, there are tides of about six hours' duration, so that two tides again occur in a day.

In August and September, the number of days when short tides are perceived, is increasing. In October, the duration of all tides is about six hours, and in November and December, at new and full moon, they again come in some long rises and falls.

At the period of the change from these common or short tides (of about six hours) to the long ones (of about twelve,) a great rise and fall generally is alternate with a small one, and it is a remarkable fact, that these smaller rises and falls gradually decrease until they entirely disappear, and only one rise and fall takes place in the twenty-four hours.

The reverse was the case on the change from long tides to the common or shorter ones.

The same also appears to happen as regards the time of rise and fall, though in a less striking degree.

The time of flood and ebb tide is here likewise very uncertain. It may, however, be stated, that at new and full moon, the ebb tide comes in about three o'clock in the morning, while it is more regular with regard to

the flood tide, and it is therefore impossible to calculate with exactness, the other days re-appearance of ebb and flood tide at Fagol.

The mean rise and fall during the year was, ... 0·50 ebb.

The greatest, ... .. 0·97

The smallest, .. ... 0·04

The greatest difference between high and low water was observed in the West monsoon, and scarcely ever at new or full moon ; so that there accordingly existed no real spring tide : it never exceeded the fall by 1·03 ebb.

The highest water-mark, on the other hand, was in the East monsoon, especially in the months of May and June.

The difference in the rise and fall of the succeeding tides is here, as well as at the other stations, deserving notice ; and though the equality of the succeeding rise and falls evidently depends upon certain rules, yet it is not to be traced, at the first glance at least, to the decrease of the moon.

The monsoons, and likewise the stand of the sun's solstice probably, exercise a more than common influence on these tides at Onrust near Batavia. No stream of ebb and flood, properly speaking, was observed any more than at Fagol or Klampsis, the stream which runs cannot be subjected to any certain rule, nor does the rise and fall of the water proceed with regularity. The stream in all directions is much influenced by the wind, and is very trifling, seldom exceeding one mile to one mile and a half.

According to the observations that have been made, the duration of the rise and fall of the water in December, January, and February, was about twelve hours ; so that there is in one day, only once high water and once low ; sometimes, however, the water is longer flowing than ebbing.

In March for some succeeding days, smaller tides were observed between them, which being of very unequal duration ordinarily, were alternating in a short rise, succeeding a long one and vice versa. The recurrence of these small tides which first appeared twice or thrice in the month, may perhaps be brought into connexion with the age of the moon ; the number of days they continued decreased about July and August, though sometimes a short tide of one or two hours occurred ; with these exceptions, there was high and low water only once in twenty-four hours.

In the latter days of August, the number of days when the short tide comes in, it increases so that almost the whole month, as well as in September, two tides took place in the same days, though of a very irregular duration; then the number of days when the short tides were observed again decreased, occurring only twice or thrice in the month; till in December long tides almost always return, so that in this month there is only one ebb tide each day.

However, supposing in January and February the short tides have been overlooked, which is not impossible, as the character of these was not known at the commencement of the observations, or we should be able to assign a reason, that in July and December long tides, and in September and February short tides take place, as well as between these months, the number of days when short tides obtain, decreases and increases; something similar to this has been observed at Fagol; but the period of long and short tides does not correspond.

There is no peculiarity concerning the difference of the succeeding tides; but we must not omit to notice, that there, as well as at Klampsis, in December, January, and February, flood tide always comes in before noon, and this period is successively retarded; the flood tide being observed during May in the night; during June in the evening; during July and August in the afternoon; in September before and after noon; in October and November in those days where only one tide in one day took place before noon. It is evident from these facts, that during the East monsoon the flood-tide comes in the afternoon, and in the evening; while during the West monsoon it was before noon, and in the morning just the reverse of what has been observed at Klampsis.

The period of the flood tide at new and full moon, however irregular it may be in the interval between them, is always about ten o'clock, (or between 9h. 30m. and 10h. 45m.) P. M. from March to December, that is in the East monsoon; and at A. M. from September to March in the West monsoon, a singular correspondence with the observations at Klampsis. It is evident that on account of the regularity of the tides, this period cannot be used as a mean number, to calculate the period of the flood tide for other days.

The mean rise and fall was,	...	...	0·67 ebb.
The greatest,	...	...	1·32
The smallest,	...	...	0·02

The greatest difference between high and low water took place in the West monsoon, and then especially at new and full moon, in the other parts of the year. The position of the moon was not observed having any reference to the water-mark. The highest water-mark was also in the W. monsoon, and especially in December.

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*At Muntok in the Straits of Borneo.*

At this place, a decided stream of ebb and flood took place, and the observations seem therefore most fit to establish on them a general rule for the tides within the Archipelago, and the short or middle tides. The flood stream at Muntok runs six or eight hours in a day to the S. E. with a velocity of quarter, half, and sometimes of one and a half mile, while the ebb stream runs sixteen or eighteen hours every day, at the rate of one or two miles to W. by N. and W. N. W. The turn of the streams was not regular, nor to be brought into connexion with the rise and fall of the tide. In August, an ebb was even observed lasting more than thirty-eight hours, while the water in the mean time rises twice.

After the monsoons, the common duration of the rise generally is ten hours, and that of the fall 14-30; afterwards at the first and last quarters of the moon, ebbs and floods, or the so-called short tides take place in one day, which last about six hours, or rather the mean duration of two rises is about 11-30, and that of two falls 12-35.

The short tides ordinarily appear at a certain suspension of the fall or rise in the ebb and flood tide, called by the natives *passing ketjil*. Should these tides amount to two ebbs and two floods in a day, they are called by the natives, "*passing onok*;" while ebb and flood, which run for a longer time, and precede the common tides of ebb and flood of twenty-four hours duration, bear the name of "*passing ma*."

On the contrary, during the change of the monsoons, that is during April, May, October, and November, these middle tides run at new and full moon; and here also as at Ourust, flood tide occurs during the West monsoon, in the afternoon and in the evening, and at new and full moon at 8h. 30m.



During these months, when at new and full moon short tides were running, the high water generally came in about 6h. 50m. in the morning, and at about 7h. 10m. in the evening. However, these numbers cannot exhibit a mean number, nor give a direction to calculate the high water of the other days, although the time of the flood tide, however irregular, seems daily to come in later, being retarded twelve hours in a fortnight, while this time on the appearance of the short tides has a most irregular course.

The natives foretell sometimes very exactly the return of the small and the short tides.

The greatest rise and fall was,	...	...	4· 26 ebb.
The smallest,	..	...	0· 07
The mean,	...	...	2· 17

The greatest difference between high and low water was at full moon in December, in June, and May, and in general when the monsoons had passed; while the difference during the months, while the monsoons changed, was less perceptible.

The greatest rises and falls often took place at new and full moon, though by no means always.

The highest water-mark was also observed when the monsoons were in their full force. Besides it deserves notice, that during the period when flood and ebb tide came in only once a day, that is during the common long tides, the rises and falls following each other successively increase and decrease; while when two tides or middle tides occur in a day, the succeeding rises are alternately great and small, and thus also the falls, while the difference in the quantum of two succeeding rises, probably depends on the decrease of the moon.

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*At Corimon, Java.*

An ebb and flood tide is here even less perceptible than at other stations. It appears, however, from the observations that were made, that here, as at Klampsis on the North coast of Madura, the stream runs especially with the rising water to the East, and with the falling water to the West; in the East monsoon in the night, in the West monsoon in the day time.

The tides are very irregular ; there being only once in a day flood and ebb tide, and sometimes of the duration from nine to fifteen hours.

The period of the flood tide has here, as at Klampsis and Onrust, a general though irregular retardation, viz. in the East monsoon, as at Klampsis, the high water comes in before noon and in the morning ; in September early in the morning ; in October, November, and December, in the night ; during the West monsoon in the night and in the evening ; in April in the afternoon ; while this period is most irregular during the turning months.

The mean rise and fall was,     ...     ...     1· 25 ebb.

The greatest,     ...     ...     ..     ...     2· 03

The highest water mark is in April, and generally the 21st and 22nd of the month.

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*At Tapara.*

No ebb and flood stream properly speaking, and the whole course of the tides very irregular. With the rising water, a stream was generally observed having an easterly direction ; high water only once in the same day. Here also the period of the flood tide appears to undergo a general, though indefinite annual retardation, viz. the flood tides during the month of May and June take place after noon and at noon ; the ebb-tide in the morning and about midnight.

In July, August, and September, they take place successively earlier, so that the high water comes in October about half-past five o'clock in the morning ; in December about half-past one in the morning ; and during the W. monsoon in the night and in the evening ; and consecutively the flood-tides again occur in the afternoon. The period of ebb and flood tides at new and full moon is very irregular.

The mean rise and fall is,     ...     ...     ...     1· 31 ebb.

The greatest,     ...     ...     ...     ...     2· 00

The highest water-mark was observed in October.

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*At Macassar.*

According to some observations of a later date transmitted to us, viz. during the three first months of 1840, the tides are very irregular ; having a close correspondence with the tides on the Javanese sea.

The flood-tide, though with little force, runs to the N. E. and N.N.E. the ebb-tide to the S. W. and S. S. W. either stream much dependent on the wind.

During the full strength of the monsoons, there appears long tides to prevail, being only one flood and one ebb tide in twenty-four hours, and as at Muntok and Onrust, during the change of the monsoons periodically, returning short tides took place twice in a day ; and during this period they were all short tides of about six hours. At new and full moon, the flood-tide comes in at about 6h. 20m. There is no daily retardation of the flood-tide. It appears, as at Klampsis, on the north coast of Madura, that during the W. monsoon the high water takes place in the afternoon, and most likely the converse during the E. monsoon.

A mean number cannot be obtained here.

The highest rise was during the 3 first months of 1840, 1. 60 ebb.

The mean,      ...      ...      ...      ...      ...      0. 75

If we then compare the course of the tides at the different stations, there is evidently observed a sensible difference of the tides without the Archipelago, viz. of those on the West coast of Sumatra and on the South coast of Java and of Amboyna, from those within the Javanese sea. Here we are able to fix a certain mean number, by means of which the time of high water is to be calculated, totally different from the course of the tides within the Javanese sea.

The former it appears follow the well known rules of the tides ; there is twice in the day ebb and twice flood tide, and two tides take place in the space of somewhat more than twenty-four hours in the whole, depending on the moon's passing the meridian.

Here we are able to fix a certain mean number, by means of which the time of high water is to be calculated beforehand, totally different from the course of the tides within the Javanese sea, which cannot be traced to the common rules ; they rather are governed by the locality, the position of the sun, and the monsoons dependent on it.

We may however state, that in the Javanese sea high water is only once a day, and that besides these, long tides, or rather rises and falls, which of more or less duration last together somewhat more than twenty-four hours. Small or short tides prevail, whose very regular return depends on several causes, especially on the monsoons

and the sun's solstice. They may perhaps be subjected to a certain rule; because the natives of this Archipelago are able often to foretell with great exactness the return of the small tides.

Although (notwithstanding the irregular return of the hour of high water) at new and full moon at the same place, the tides generally return at the same hour; yet these cannot be fixed a mean number for the different stations upon this sea.

In general annual (although irregular) retardation of the daily period of the high water, which appears also to depend on the sun's solstice like the short or middle tides, is a singular character of the Javanese sea, or perhaps of all seas situated within an Archipelago.

Besides, it must be noticed, that the streams are still more irregular than the rise and fall of the water, and much depends on the prevailing winds.

*Order.*

E. LUCAS,

*Rear Admiral, Commander of H. M. Navy*

*in East India, and Inspector of the Navy.*

*By order of the Rear Admiral, Commander of His*

*Majesty's Navy in East India, and Inspector of the Navy,*

W. DE CONSTANT REBECQUE,

*Adjutant and Naval Lieutenant.*

Station.	Flood tide at full and change.	Duration of the rise and fall of the water or of the ebb and flood-tide.	Greatest rise and fall of the water.	Mean rise and fall of the water.	FLOOD.		EBB.		Remarks
					Direction.	Velocity.	Direction.	Velocity.	
Pulo Chingo.	6h. 0m. 0s. Mean number, 5h. 30m. 0s.	Two tides in 24 hours, that is twice flood-tide and twice ebb, flood and ebb-tide about 6½ hours.	Ebb. 1-50	Ebb. 0-78	N.E. E.S.E	Mile. ¼ Little.	To the S.W. W.S.W. South.	Mile ¼ Great.	The tides regularly lose 12 hours in a fortnight; the flood along the coast runs to N.W., the ebb to S.E.
Filatjap.	8h. 48m. 0s. Mean number, 8h. 30m. 0s.	Two tides in 24 hours, that is twice flood-tide and twice ebb; flood and ebb about 6½ hours.	2-63	1-25	W.	2½ to 4½.	To the East.	2½ to 5½.	The tides regularly lose 12 hours in a fortnight; the stream along the coast runs to the East during the East monsoon.
Fort Victoria at Ambayna.	0h. 33m. 0s. Mean number, 0h. 30m. 0s.	Two tides in 24 hours, viz. twice flood and twice ebb tide; flood and ebb tide about 6½ hours.	2-50	1-14	In the E. monsoon to the S.W. in the W. monsoon to the N.E.	Little to 2¼.	In the E. monsoon to the N.E. in the W. monsoon to the S.W.	Little to 2¼.	The tides regularly lose 12 hours in a fortnight; ebb and flood run in an opposite direction along the North coast of the Bay.
Muntoh.	After the monsoons 8h. 30m., in the months when the monsoons change about 7h.	During the power of the monsoons generally one tide in 24 hours, viz. the rise of the water 14h. 30m. and the fall 10h.; two tides in 24 hours during the months when the monsoons change; between both on the return of certain periods; whether at quarter or at full moons the opposite course took place, and especially at the change from the long tides to short ones and vice versa.	4-27	2-16	During 6h. or 8h. E.S.E.	¼ to 1½.	During 16h. or 18h. W.N.W.	2	During the East monsoon it is always high water at 2 p. m. or in the evening; during the W. monsoon at a. m. or in the morning.
Onrust.	In the East monsoon about 10h. p. m., or in the evening in the West monsoon about 10h. a. m. or in the morning.	During the full power of the monsoons generally one tide in 24 hours; the rise and fall about 12h. two tides in 24h. in the months when the monsoons change; between both on the return of certain periods, whether at new and full or at quarter, the opposite course took place at the change, from the long tides to the short, and vice versa.	1-32	0-67	Properly speaking, there is no ebb and flood tide stream.				During the East monsoon it is always high water at p. m. or in the evening; during the West monsoon at a. m. or in the morning.
Pagal.	Very irregular.	Generally one tide in 24hs. during the E. monsoons; two tides in 24hs. during the W. monsoons; between both at certain periods; at new and full moon, the opposite course took place; especially at the change from the long tides to the short ones, and vice versa: that is in the months when the monsoons change.	1-03	0-50	IDEM.				
Klainpsis.	East monsoons 9h. to 10h. a. m. or in the morning, in the West monsoons 9h. to 10h. p. m. or in the evening.	One tide in 24 hours, ebb and flood tide from 9 to 15 hours; there were no exact observations made concerning the existence of short tides.	2-13	1-12	IDEM. The stream generally runs to the Eastward on the rise, and Westward on the fall.				During the East monsoon it is flood tide always in the morning, and in the West monsoon in the evening.
Tapara.	Very irregular.	One tide in 24 hours, from 8h. to 16 hours; short tides were not observed	2-00	1-31	IDEM. In the rise the stream generally runs Easterly, but it is very irregular.				During the E. monsoon the flood tide comes in the morning, and in the W. monsoon in the evening.
Crimon, Java.	East monsoons 8h. p. m. in the West monsoons about 8h. a. m.	One tide in 24 hours, from 9h. to 15h., short tides were not observed.	2-03	1-23	IDEM. On the rise the stream generally runs Easterly, and on the fall Westerly.				During the East monsoon the flood tide comes in the evening; during the West monsoon in the morning.

N. B.—The mean rise and fall are here the average of the extremes, and the greatest rise and fall must be so taken in an absolute sense. If, however, the average of the greatest rise and fall of every month be taken, it is somewhat less. If the average of the mean rise and fall of every month be taken, it becomes somewhat more.

Order.

E. LUCAS,  
Rear Admiral, Commander of the Navy in East India,  
and Inspector of the Navy.

By order of the Admiral of the Navy in East India, and Inspector of the Navy,

W. DE CONSTANT REBECQUE,  
Adjutant and Naval Lieutenant.





*Journal kept while Travelling in Seistan. By the late Capt. EDWARD CONOLLY.*

I left Herat on the 11th of August 1839 in progress to Seistan. All the papers and credentials with which I had been furnished by H. M. Shah Shooja and Mr. Macnaghten having been stolen from me near Herat, Major Todd wrote out a new list of instructions for my guidance, and procured letters of introduction to the chiefs, through whose country I should pass, from H. M. Shah Kamraun and his Vuzeer Yar Mahomed Khan. He also gave me letters from himself to the several chiefs.

Leave Herat.

Papers stolen.  
Appendix I.

Letters of introduction.

The vuzeer appointed two persons of influence and respectability to accompany me into Seistan, or as far as I might judge convenient; they were to receive no fixed salary; but I promised to reward them according to their services and utility.

Escort.

Both were accompanied by a few horsemen.

I had also as an escort, an Ishaukzye, named Sultan Khan, with six horsemen, who had been made over to me at Candahar by H. M. Shah Shooja.

The vuzeer sent me before I started a handsome horse, and what was more valuable, one of the five mules which were captured from the Persians during the siege. This animal was worth at even Herat 360 Rs. We reached Subzawar on the evening of the 15th; when about a mile from the town, we were met by a messenger from the governor (Syed Mahomed, a son of the vuzeer Yar Mahomed Khan,) who conducted us to a garden house, which had been prepared for our reception. On reaching this, we found seated, waiting for us, a Persian gentleman, a sort of mentor to the young lord; the Sheeghaussee, and several other well dressed persons, who repeated "You are welcome, you are very welcome," a hundred times; a *zeafut* followed of forty sheep, and attah, barley and ghee sufficient for my whole camp for six days. Till late at night, message after message came from the sirdar to inquire if I was tired, if my brains were clear.

Subzawar.

16th.—This morning I was hardly up, before the sirdar visited me, with a long train of followers; he sat a fatiguingly long time, talking nothings. He talks so fast, that his servants even confess that they only understand half he says, and as he mingles a large proportion of *Pushtoo* with his Persian, I found some difficulty in following him: he has a pleasing appearance and manner.

I rode out in the evening; the town is a poor collection of huts, but in the fort are some twenty houses of Hindoos, who are perhaps the most contented of Shah Kamraun's subjects; not that they are better treated than the rest, but that the oppression to which they are subjected seems less, and tolerable in comparison with what they dread from *Sheah* intolerance, should the Persians gain the ascendant.

On my return home I sent my head Mirza, Mahomed Juher, to the newly-discovered Prince, with respectful messages, and an apology for not calling, on the plea of my being a traveller, having nothing fit to present, &c. The fact was, my *tosha khaneh* was not large, and it was necessary to husband my resources.

The prince at Subzawar is the youngest son of Shah Kamraun, and is named Zemaun. One of these princes is attached to every government under the rule of Shah Kamraun, to assist in the administration of justice, since no one but a Puddozye could execute a criminal without fear of retaliation. When the real governor wishes to punish an offender, he sends him to the prince, who, dressed all in black, in the robes of punishment, *poshaki gauzub*, himself superintends the execution; besides the more usual punishment of cutting off the ears and lips, slitting the nose, &c. tortures of several kinds have been common.

Syud Mahomed paid me another visit in the afternoon, as I had announced my intention of pursuing my journey to-morrow. He shewed me a letter from his father, begging that I would permit one Hubeeboollah Khan to accompany me to Seistan, that he might through my influence purchase grain, which at present he said, from Shah Pusund Khan's being unfriendly to him, he could not do. He also requested, that I would

The Governor.

Description of the Town.

Shahzadeh Zemaun.

Condition of the princes.

Torture.

Letter from Yar Mahomed Khan.

make over any grain, I could buy on the public account to the same. To the first proposition I made no objection. Hubeeboollah I knew to be a man of character and respectability; he is an Ishaukzye, and son of the Mir Akbar of Shah Zemaun; and as he was well acquainted with Seistan, where he had lived for more than a year as the agent of the Herat government, I thought he might prove useful.

On taking leave of the governor I presented him with a pistol of small value, and a shawl, apologizing for the poor-  
 Present to Syud Mahomed Khan. ness of the gift by repeating, what I had been repeating, since I arrived but without much effect, that

I was travelling as a mere private individual, and uninvested with political authority. Syud Mahomed expressed himself quite satisfied with the offering, and sent me two sorry horses in return; he also pressed a few more horsemen on me, as the road between Subzawar and Turrah was not accounted safe. As I was mounting my horse, a person slipped a letter into my hand and slunk away; it was from the prince, begging me to mediate with Major Todd, that his allowance might be increased, and wishing me a prosperous journey. Our road lay on the banks of the  
 Letter from the Prince. river Adrascund, which shewed traces of having been

once richly cultivated; but at present they are covered with grass and weeds, on which large numbers of sheep, camels,  
 Leave Subzawar. horses, and cows were feeding. We made a detour to

visit the Killah Duchter, celebrated in the traditions of this part of the country; but were not repaid for our trouble. The Killah Duchter is a small ruined fort on the left bank of the Adrascund, where that river turns the hills, and on the extreme  
 Killah Duchter. edge of these hills is built, just opposite the other

fort a wall and parapet, now in ruins, with a high tower in tolerable preservation, and which is seen for miles. This last is the Killah Pisur, and the son and daughter used to nurse each other with mutual sieges. While we were sitting on the tower of the Killah Pisur, which commands a fine view of the plain below, we perceived a horse-  
 Runaway Slave. man trotting towards us from the town. It appeared that a boy, the

slave of some person about the sirdar, had ran away and had taken service with one of my followers. The moment the horseman approached, the poor boy went without saying a

word towards him, and jumped up behind him ; the man not even halting, turned his horse, and trotted back again to Subzawar with his reclaimed property ; for there was no time to interfere if even I had the will to do so.

From Subzawar to Imanet, the villages are inhabited by mixed tribes of Duranees ; but between Imarut and Jaigee, the population is entirely composed of Goorazyee Moorzye. We met on the road a pleasing sight,—some few Kheils returning from the south to re-settle in their old lands in Subzawar. The

Jaya. Dlehikzye Kheil, with whom I was so near being obliged to fight at Ahinuk, as related in a former report, had also just returned to their ancient habitations, laded it was said with spoils, of which a part was the Company's camels. I reported this last circumstance to Major Todd, not thinking the present a prudent time for me to stir in the matter.

At Jaya two gentlemen, who were travelling towards Laush on their private affairs, requested leave to accompany my party. One was the son of the old Moorzye lord, so well described by Mr. Elphinstone, Ahmed Khan ; the other was a relation, Dost Mahomed Populzye, a person well known in the modern history of Herat ; they both shared in the general ruin which has fallen on all men of rank under the rule of Yar Mahomed Khan, whose policy it has always been to allow the clans subject to Herat, to be without a head ; so that there should

Joined by two Duranee gentlemen. be no one of influence in the country but himself and his immediate adherents. Though I could not but

fear that the two nobles came to beg, it was difficult to refuse giving them the protection they asked for, particularly as a few miles from Jaya we had a few hours before met two different parties who had been robbed by the lawless inhabitants of the hills. Their followers did not consist of more than eight horsemen, so we bid them all welcome, and assigned them their station in the camp, they agreeing to share in the fatigue of keeping watch at night, in which every person with me, of whatever class he might be, took his part. Our watches were not indeed kept with the silent decorum of a European camp, though perhaps in a manner equally effectual. Several parties

Night watch. of twos and threes sat round fires in different quarters, and kept themselves awake by singing songs,



verses of which were taken up by one party from the other; and by calling out to each other at the top of their voices, *hoshear*, "be watchful," every five minutes.

You leave the valley of Jaya by a narrow pass, which runs at right angles to it, and enter a barren plain called Baboor; as you approach the Bobehi Barran hills, you find the whole country covered with a beautiful grass, so that you may suppose it a meadow in England. But this grass, which is called *keertah*, has some property noxious to cattle, and is therefore useless. After this, you come upon the valley of the Purrah road, which was, and should be, one mass of cultivation; the banks of the river presented a lively appearance of green gardens, of villages, and fields.

We now crossed through miles of ruined walls, and did not meet one inhabitant till we were quite close to the town. When the Candahar sirdars retired, and the present governor, Futteh Khan, was sent to occupy the fort, a scene of desolation presented itself to him, which I cannot describe better than in his own words:—

"I went to the top of the castle, from whence there is an uninterrupted view for miles; through all the wide space below me, I could not perceive one human being or the smoke of a single fire." The few people he had with him actually lived on the grapes, which were the only things the Candaharees had not destroyed. They dried and made sugar from them, and sent them to Baudan and other places around, getting grain in exchange. We halted on the evening of the 21st on the banks of the river, about two miles from the town; the next morning Futteh

Mahomed Khan, who the evening before had been amusing himself with the *munzud bauzee* at a village some eight miles off, but who the moment he heard of my arrival left his betrothed to come and meet me, rode up with a few followers, and escorted me to a wretched mud house in the fort, which I afterwards learnt was his own residence, which he had vacated for me. After inducing me into my quarters he took his leave, and shortly afterwards sent me whole maunds of delicious grapes, a mule load of melons, and provision for four days for my party. People came in to know whether this was sufficient, that more would be sent, &c. A respectable person

was left to attend on my wants, who every half hour brought in a cup of tea and a *kullion*. In the even-

ing the governor called again, accompanied by the heads of all the Kheils around, who apologized for not having come out to meet me, as they had not expected me so soon. I disclaimed all title to such honors, but this they evidently considered as mere words of course. The room was so small that it was with difficulty all my guests could squeeze in. I had heard reports of Khyrmun Meerza having encamped outside Subzawar, and of his having sent to Shah Pussund Khan to desire him to get ready 60,000 *khurwars* of grain, as he was coming with an army. "I have written," said Futteh Khan to Shah Pussund to say, "that if he does any thing of the kind he shall repent of it." This flourish was amusing enough to me, who knew the relative situation of the parties. There was much talk of the Beloochee *chuppaoing*, Beloochee plundering, and Juma Khan, the brother of the Ex-Candahar sirdar, was reported to have been stripped.

The many stories I heard of the boldness and strength of these plundering bands, and the assertion of several people, who pretended to have been well informed on the subject, that there was no grain procurable at Jorodine, determined me to leave eighty camels, (which I had brought from Herat with me for Major Todd to load with grain for the use of the mission,) at Furrah.

Determined to leave camels brought for grain at Furrah.

This measure, too, might disarm any jealousy Shah Pussund Khan might have perceived by my bringing these camels, which he might suppose were sent by his rival the vuzeer, and it would serve to counteract the prevailing notion of my being laden with gold, which caused all the beggars to collect around me from far and near. I was much annoyed with people rushing into my room with a large tray, perhaps containing one melon, or getting introduced on the plea of business, and then presenting a pair of gloves, or some such

trifle, and begging for *shufkut*, which literally means Expensive presents.

honor, and really money. As all the heads of Kheils had sent me presents of fruits, we had more grapes and melons than we could have consumed for several days. I asked Futteh Khan how to get rid of the nuisance, and if it was the "custom" for travellers to be thus taxed; he said it was all imposition, and mentioned as an example, that when the king of Persia rides out an order is given that no one should make an offering, I of course profited by the lesson. Beggars of this kind are sometimes very impertinent and exacting, and

will return the contra-donation, unless they think it sufficiently large. A villager brought a sheep to Shah Pussund Khan's father : ' Give the man a *choghū*,' said the chief to his Nazir. The Nazir took off his own cloak and gave it. It was old and torn. The villager looked at it, turned it over, and putting it down at the Khan's feet, said, " Here, take your old *choghū*, and give me back my sheep."

23rd.—I called on the prince Saudut-ool-Moolk, Futteh Khan having Prince Saudut-ool Moolk. hinted to me that a present was not required. He was seated in a small room in the citadel, and made me sit down beside him, without any attempt at formality. He was coarsely dressed, and had just the air of a *Buniah*. He is fat, short, and jolly looking, and talked much with a loud voice, smiling all the while, and this good humoured personage has lately seated himself on the road between Furrah and Girishk, and in company with his brother of Ghore amuses himself with plundering passengers. From the prince I went to the governor, whose house was more wretched than Governor's house. my own. We walked out together to visit the pits, where they were making saltpetre, with which the whole plain of Furrah is encrusted.

The process of extracting it is simple ; a platform of wood and branches is thrown across a pit, and covered with Saltpetre. earth scraped from the surface : this is wetted, and the saltpetre drips through into a reservoir below, from which it is ladled out into bowls, when it is boiled, and left to crystallize. The crystals are as clear and shining as amber. Any quantity may be made here ; but at present they only collect enough for their own consumption, from some foolish idea of its being dangerous to sell it to their neighbours, who are, or may be, enemies, chiefly from the general languor of commerce in this part of the country. When Shumsoodeen Khan was governor of Furrah, he is said to have exported it with much advantage to his revenues, Seistan for example affording a ready market. Nothing but common salt having as yet been found there, a little is still sent annually to that country from the pits. We ascended to the top of the citadel, and a more melancholy prospect it would be difficult to imagine ; of the fort I have sent a plan to Major Todd. The walls are of considerable thickness, except in the S. W. face ; the inside of the fort contains only some

twenty houses with domed roofs built of mud, with the exception of perhaps three rather larger places, such as the one I lived in.

In the centre is a pond of stagnant water, which the inhabitants have not energy enough to drain off, though it is the cause of much unhealthiness, and numbers of people fall victims to fever and ague when the plain is inhabited. The rest of the fort is occupied by the mounds raised for salt-pits; some in use, others deserted. Round two or three sides of the fort were the ruins of the town, now containing no inhabitants, nearly all of them having fled to Laush. There were no Hindoos, no shops. You could not have purchased a rupee's worth of grain.

24th.—The sirdar proposed a *pic nic* to a celebrated Hindoo place of pilgrimage, called the Bebehi (a corruption perhaps of Bebe) Baran, *of the raining lady*, in the hills N. of the town, or and about twelve miles off. A spring from the heights above is discharged upon a large table rock, projecting from the side of the hill, through which the water filtrates, dropping like rain for a space of about fifty feet. The effect is very beautiful. On a small level space just above the dripping rock, a Hindoo *fakeer* had stationed himself, and supported by numerous pilgrims, who flocked to him, had lived there fourteen years. His visitors built him a very comfortable house of two rooms, and outside was a clear place for bathing, a space set apart for his cooking, and even a little garden. The Bebehi Baran is situated at the end of a gorge, which on the Persians raising the siege of Herat, the Furreahees fortified against the Candaharees, who had possession of their fort. The soldiers annoyed the hermit, or perhaps the earthen vessels for grain which are remarked round his chamber were not filled so regularly in those troubled times—he left his retreat.

I afterwards met him in Seistan; he was a young man still, not forty. He came to me, as a brother Hindoo, to beg the gift of five rupees, to take him back again to his old house, where he says he intends to pass the remainder of his days. I gave him what he wanted, and I afterwards learnt that he has once more taken possession of his house on the Bebehi Baran.

25th.—The two nobles who had accompanied me from Jaujer, sent to say, that if I would only feed them, they would follow me into Seistan; there were reasons for not

Unhealthiness of  
Furrah.

Bebehi Baran.

Hindoo Fakeer.

Dismiss my two  
guests.



acceding to this ; one of which I may mention, that Ahmed Khan's son had some demand to make on Shah Pussund Khan, and he thought that his being in my suite, would ensure its being granted. I therefore declined the offer, on the plea of wishing to be as private as possible, and not to incommode my generous hosts with a larger camp than was necessary. I had been sending them a few sheep and grain and fruit out of the superfluity which Futteh Khan and others had forced upon me, and through Mahomed Taher, had intimated to them, that I had only money sufficient for the expences of the road. I now sent a parting present of food for two or three days, and consigned them, in the Afghan fashion, to God.

Mahomed Seddie Khan, one of the persons sent with me by Yar

Mahomed Khan, had been since our arrival at his home, a village not far from Furrah. I learnt to-day by chance, that this man had a blood feud with the

Mahomed Seddie Khan dismissed.

chief of Toojk, a place we have to pass on our road to Laush. I immediately dispatched a letter to Mahomed Seddie, telling him that he must take his leave of me here, and requesting him to send me some servant, or to come himself, for his *khillut*. The *Cossid* brought back a reply, that Mahomed Seddie was coming in person to answer my letter. This evening we heard from a traveller of the flight of Dost Mahomed, and the occupation of Caubul.

The governor called to wish me good bye, as I was to start for Laush in the morning. I gave him some gay pieces of cloth, which I heard would be acceptable to him, for the lady he was courting ; he sent me a horse worth about fifty rupees. Before he took leave, he ordered his attendants out of the room, and begged me to intercede with Major Todd in his favour, that he may not be turned out of his government. "I have no heart now," he said, "to make any improvements ; for the moment I have made the appointment worth holding, that villian Dyn Mahomed Khan, who has the ear of the vuzeer, will be sent to supercede me." Futteh Mahomed Khan is a relation of vuzeer Yar Mahomed Khan, and is known to us as the envoy who was sent from Herat to Teheran. He is a thin, yellow complexioned, insignificant looking personage, with a very timid manner, indicative of his character, as it was the *boorj* he defended, upon which the Persian assault was made at the siege of Herat. He has since enjoyed, and makes the most of a

Character of Futteh Khan.



reputation for bravery ; but it is said that on the day of the storm he was actually running away, when a young Furrahi seized him by the arm, and unconsciously making use of a famous expression, said, " The enemy are not there."

Futteh Khan is, however, a very pleasant companion ; any timidity of manner soon wears off, and he has all the polish and address of a Persian. His kindness and polite attentions to myself, (not to mention the profuse hospitality, for which however the vuzeer of Herat, and not Futteh Khan, is to be thanked,) I must confess somewhat blinded me as to his real character, which I only discovered at Joroaine, when I was thrown among the exiled Furrahees. They perhaps exaggerated his demerits ; but it would appear that on his assuming the government of Furrah, he persecuted the few inhabitants that still remained in the district, on the plea of their having joined the enemy, and thus contributed as much as the Candaharees themselves, to the desolation of the province.

26th.—We were hardly outside the walls of Furrah, when a letter was brought from Shah Pussund Khan to say, that on account of the danger of the road, he had sent out some twenty or thirty horse and foot to meet me at his frontier, and that he had prepared a room for me in his house. We were catching fish with *coculus indicus* in the river at Barunduk, where as the name implies, there is a water-fall, and a deep pool famous for its fish, when we were disturbed by a mounted party. This was the escort sent by Shah Pussund Khan, headed, by a person called the *Shaughoussee*, (because he had formerly served in that capacity to some prince at Turrah, Thenazis, and other respectable people.) The *Shaughoussee* apologized for the absence of the Khan's grandson and for the paucity of the horsemen ; the young Khan and all the horse they could muster, having gone only a few days before to take possession of Killah Rab. As we approached Toojk, we could have counted its very inhabitants, for I suppose there was hardly a male who had not come out to see the first real *Feringee* who had ever visited them. Vilkovitch they consider, what he called himself, a Cossack. We marched into the town in a ludicrous sort of procession ; numerous old women kept throwing water at me, as a symbol of welcome ; and to keep off the evil eye, beggars burnt in-

Letter from Futteh  
Khan.

Toojk.

cense under my horse's belly ; little boys with long sticks in their hands were continually crying, " Remember the poor scholars," *talib ul-ilm* ; and a testy *fakeer* walked just before me, and made my horse jump every minute by calling out, *ya huk*. The custom of throwing water I saw in no other place but in the Laush territories ; it resembles the presenting the "*rullus*" of Rajpootanna. They have another mode of welcome peculiar to Laush. When a new governor arrives, they tie a cow to a platform, which is carried on men's shoulders a few miles on the road ; while the chief is coming a man, stands on the platform with a knife in his hand, calling out " Shall I kill, shall I kill ? " If the governor says, " Kill," they prophecy he will be a tyrant. If he spares the animal, they escort him with great joy and acclamation to his house. The governor of Toojk, Khan Ishaukzye, named Jaun Mahomed Khan, met him before we reached the town ; we sat on a carpet under a tree while the tents were pitching ; all the house tops and branches of the trees around us being crowded with people eagerly gazing at us, and bursting into laughter every now and then, at the strange dress of myself and the sergeant. Jaun Mahomed, a singularly good-humoured-looking and talking person, began the conversation by saying, that he had been a rebel for twelve years, and he evidently prided himself no little upon it. But said he, " Yar Mahomed and I are now fast friends, and he has just sent me two horses."

He was very anxious to know, how we could govern Mussulmans. " For instance," he said, " suppose you had taken Candahar for yourselves, instead of Shah Shooja." After disclaiming the possibility of such an event as our taking Candahar for ourselves, I endeavoured to explain, that in India we governed Mussulmans according to their own laws, with some limitations ; and mentioned as an example the prohibition of

blood feuds, &c. " That may be all very good," he said,

Blood feuds.

" but I should like to see any law that would prevent me killing a man who had killed one of mine." Hoping to get a little quiet, we retired to our tents ; but the curiosity of the people could not be repressed ; a large crowd squatted themselves around the doors, trying to peer through the chick to see what we were doing, and every now and then some beggar would poke his head in, and whine out, *Ai berae khoda !* " Ah for God's sake." Night only relieved us from this persecution ; I became rather alarmed after what Jaun Mahomed had

said regarding blood feuds, that Mahomed Siddie, who had not yet come in or sent his man, might, trusting to my protection join me here, and some unpleasant fray might ensue, in which my name would be mixed up. Sultan Khan reassured me, "that Mahomed Siddie was much too knowing to trust himself within the reach of his enemy; that the quarrel was nearly extinct, and propositions for settling it by a marriage had been sent in; and that as it had lasted 30 years, about an equal number of lives on each side had cooled it; they would be unwilling to renew the affair by fresh blood; but of course," he added "if they meet, they will attack each other." The two Douranee chiefs who had joined me at Jarja were halting for a few days at Toojk, having come on from Furrah a day or two before me. They were in great distress; two of their horses having been stolen, and one having died. I thought this

Give away a horse. a good opportunity of doing a civil thing at a cheap rate, I therefore sent them one of the horses which

Syud Mahomed Khan had given me. It was a worthless beast, not worth its feed; but I heard that the gift was much appreciated. We staid one night at Toojk, which has about one hundred and twenty houses. The inhabitants were of the same tribe (Tylshih) as their master,

Toojk. Hyderzye Ishaukzyes. There were also a few of other tribes, emigrants, and half a dozen chiefs, and altogether

there was an air of comfort about the place remarkable after the general misery of the country we had been passing through. It has lately been made over to Shah Pussund. Jaun Mahomed Khan, who had been a most liberal host, insisted on riding out some miles with me. He was accompanied by his son, a young man of about 20, and some five or six other people, all his relations; and all well mounted on horses which Yar Mahomed had given the chief on his coming in. We took a parting pipe. I threw a *choga* over his shoulders, and we shook hands.

That we might get into Laush in good time the next morning, we stepped on the banks of the Furrah river, where there was water in small pools at Kurawan Keze, about eight miles from the fort. We reached our ground at midnight, and after cooking a rude dinner in the Afghan manner, on the ramrods of matchlocks, lay down to sleep. When I awoke in the morning, a man was sitting shivering by my bed. To my question, "Who are you?" he could only answer,

"They have killed him; they have killed him." "Killed whom?" I said, starting up in alarm. "Mahomed Siddie." As soon as we were able to re-assure the trembling wretch sufficiently to allow of his giving a connected account of what had occurred, we learned that Mahomed Siddie, who was desirous of coming on with me, had determined to rejoin us by making a detour to avoid Toojk; and striking into the road a few miles below, he had just reached the road, when he was met face to face by Jaun Mahomed's party returning home; He had but two more with him, his nephew and a servant, the man who had come to me. Jaun Mahomed's brother, the moment he saw his enemy jumped off his horse and fired his match-lock, but missed. Jaun Mahomed called out to let the other party alone; but just at this moment Mahomed Siddie's nephew fired, on which Jaun Mahomed's son galloping up, killed him before he could remount, with one blow of his sword. The other two fled, and Jaun Mahomed and the rest coming up, all dug their swords into the dead body. The last circumstance we learnt afterwards; and such is always the custom in similar cases. Somewhat relieved at finding that Mahomed Siddie was not himself killed, (the servant's fright alone having caused him to mention his name,) we now consulted how to secure his servant's safety; for he was clinging to me for protection, and declaring that he should be murdered by the Ishaukzyes. The Shaughoussee swore that no harm should happen to him while he remained with me, and then the man consented to accompany us as far as Laush, when he would get a present and *khillut* for his master. As we were riding along; I asked the Shaughoussee, "Is the feud now quenched; do you want any more lives?" He answered by holding out two fingers. Some sixteen lives have been lost in this quarrel.

Shah Pussund Khan.

We were met at about 200 yards from the fort gate by the Khan, himself mounted, and his attendants on foot, for all the horsemen were either with me or at Killah Rab; we dismounted and joined hands, and as every one with me had to place his hands between those of the Khan, I thought we should never have mounted again. The room selected for me was nearly at the top of the castle, and the same in which Vikovitch had lived. It was small, not very clean, and but poorly furnished; but to compensate these disadvantages, it commanded a view of the plain below, of which we were never tired. The fort



of Jorroaine is about two miles from the rich valley, dotted with villages, and the river running close under the walls. From the exaggerated accounts of the Heratees, who always speak of Laush as an impregnable place, I had expected to find it at least a strong fort. It is in fact nothing but a castle, and could soon be reduced by shells, or even stormed, for it has one weak side.

The appearance of the fort could only be understood by a drawing, and unfortunately my views of this and of some  
Laush. other places have been, by mistake, left at Candahar. It will be sufficient to mention here, that as the name "Laush" implies, the fort is built on the edge of a high "cliff," immediately under which flows the Furrah river; on the East face it has the perpendicular cliff, over which are erected buildings to a height of perhaps 400 feet; a great part of these will, I suspect, fall down the precipice in another year, for the water in the spring cuts below, weakening of course the upper bank, and already several ominous cracks may be observed. I pointed this out to the Khan, and recommended his turning the stream by a bank from immediate contact with the base of his castle; but he will doubtless forget the advice he promised to follow, till half his family are overwhelmed by the fall of his house. The N. and W. faces are detached from the high plain beyond them by a deep ravine; but the S. side offers but little obstruction to a regular army. Laush is an ancient place, though I do not remember its name mentioned in history. The cliff on which it stands has many caves cut in it, and there are said to be subterranean passages, to which perhaps the women of the garrison could retire in case of its being attempted to shell the fort; but most of these passages have neither fallen in, nor have been stopped up. In case it should be necessary to take the place, a mine led under only a small part of the E. cliff, would I suspect on exploding, bring down half the castle. Laush and its territories belonged to the Vuzeer Shah Wallee; it was destroyed by Timoor Shah, and remained desolate till taken possession of and rebuilt by Shah Pussund Khan, on whom it was bestowed by Mahmood, when he returned from Teheran. The life of Shah Pussund Khan would occupy a volume. A sketch of it will not be in appropriate here, as his actions and character have frequently been misrepresented. There are three principal families among the Ishaukzyes,



which will be best understood by a diagram. This diagram will also serve, to explain much of the ensuing narrative :—

*Ishaukzyes have four principal divisions.*

HAWAZYES.

TEROZYES.

MUNDURZYES.

IDZYES.

*Shudoonzyes.**Zadinzyes.**Ahmedzyes.*

Shah Pussund Khan ;  
Ahmed Shah's General,  
his family in poverty  
at Candahar.

Muddut Khan ; Meer Af-  
zul Khan ; Dila Sar Hadgi ;  
Dost Mahomed Khan ; Wull  
Mahomed, present head.

Kohun Dil Khan ;  
Selah Mahomed Khan,  
(vulgarly called Sauloo)  
side of Shah Pussund  
derived from Shah Ma-  
homed Goolzar Khan,  
governor of Feraria, at  
Candahar.

Russool Khan, with  
King of Persia ; Ah-  
med Khan, governor  
of Killah Rab ; his  
mother, a daughter  
of Shah Pussund Kn.  
brother of Khan Je-  
han Khan of Seistan.

Abdool Hu-  
beeb, blind at  
Laush.

Abdool Ma-  
jeet, service  
of Shah  
Shooja at  
Candahar.

Mahomed Siddick  
Khan, a child ; Maho-  
med Hussein, a child ; a  
mother ; a daughter of  
Khan Jehan Khan.

Ahmed Shah, when after the fashion of the Ghilzees he portioned out the offices of his household among the Douranees, and made them hereditary in particular families, assigned four appointments to the Ishaukzyes : Mir Aspaha, master of the horse ; Purawal, leader of the van ; Darogha of camels ; and Mir Shikar, chief huntsman. The grandfather of Shah Pussund Khan, (Rumal Khan,) was Mir Aspaha of Timoor Shah, as was Ruheem Dil Khan of Shah Mahomed. Saleh Khan followed Mahmood in his wanderings in Tartary ; but alarmed at the murder of his clansman, Meer Alum, went over to Shah Shooja, as related in Conolly's Travels, vol. ii. p. 362.

Mahmood understanding, doubtless, the true motive for his desertion, wrote him a letter to the following effect:—"I have made you; if you will not remain with me, do not at least join my enemies." Saleh Khan on receipt of this, determined to stand neuter, and went off to his fort at Laush.

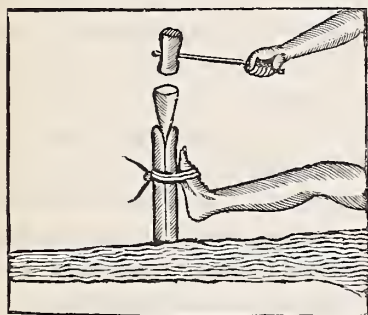
Hadgi Feroze wishing to get Jorraine and its dependencies for himself, sent Dost Mahomed Khan Populzye with an army to take it, and Shah Pussund, who had no stores laid in to enable him to stand a siege gave up Jorraine, on consideration of being allowed to keep Laush. Dost Mahomed soon after, desirous of returning to Herat, insisted on Saleh Khan's leaving the neighbourhood, and that Khan, who had no power to refuse, went off to Kamraun, who was now governor of Candahar. The prince received him kindly, and kept him six months; afterwards quarrelling with his manager, (Gool Mahomed Khan Populzye,) he gave Shah Pussund his place. In this situation he continued for nine or ten years, and Laush and Jorraine had again come into his possession, the garrison having ejected the governor left at the latter by Dost Mahomed, and given the place to the Ishaukzyes.

At the seizure of Shah Pussund Khan at Herat (Conolly, vol. ii. p. 408) he led a most eventful life, till the death of Mustapha Khan (Ibid, 413;) during that period he wandered from place to place perpetually and with much success plotting against Kamraun; making friends at different times with the rulers of Khaff, Toorbuk, Meshed, &c. He even visited Teheran, and was well received by the king of Persia. He more than once gained and lost Jorraine, Turrah, Anardurch, and Killah Rab; but he failed to get possession of Laush.

He was now Kamraun's minister at Herat; the prince gave him Furrah and Jorraine; but still with jealous care guarded Laush for himself only. At the request, often repeated, of Saleh Khan, he consented to sign a paper, purporting that that fort was the Khan's, who pretended that his reason for demanding such a document, was to save his honour in the eyes of his tribe.

A year had elapsed, Kamraun had forgotten the paper, when all of a sudden a messenger of Shah Pussund's arrived at Laush with a letter to the governor from the Khan, enclosing the document sealed and attested by the Shahzadah, and requesting the delivery of the fort, according to the tenor of the enclosure to a person of his appointing. The

governor was completely taken in ; the fort was given up, and Shah Pussund immediately fled to it ; turned *yaghee*, (rebel,) and has since successfully resisted every effort to reduce him seven or eight times ; and twice in person Kamraun has blockaded Jorraine and Laush. These repeated attacks have impoverished the rich valley ; but a few years of quiet under Shah Pussund's rule, which is very popular, will render the district more fertile and populous than it has been since the days of Nowsherwan. The lord of Hak, (for such is the proper name of the district,) is now about sixty years old ; in his person he retains none of that beauty for which he was remarkable in his younger days, and to which, if we may believe scandal, he was indebted for the title to the



king's favourite. He is very lame, which was originally occasioned by a bullet wound in the thigh in the battle of Khoo-skhi-i-Nukhood, near Candahar ; but principally from his having been subjected to the torture of the *thanah* when he was seized at Herat. In this torture, the victim's foot is fastened to a

thick wooden pin (driven into the ground) by cords drawn as tight as possible over the ankle, a wedge is then hammered into the pin, causing by the tightening of the string extreme suffering. It is said that the ankle is broken, and that blood, (but this seems false) starts out at the toes.

The address of Shah Pussund is by no means prepossessing, and there is a considerable awkwardness and formality in his manner, which however wears off, particularly if he has become excited in argument, when he speaks with great earnestness, using much gesticulation. Though he has been so much among Persians, and speaks Persian fluently, he appeared alway to avoid talking, if possible, anything but Pushtoo. This seems a trifle ; but it is one of those trifles which has contributed not a little to his popularity among his countrymen. Another now palpable cause of this popularity is, the simplicity and plainness, which is the principal feature in his character. He despises show.

When minister at Candahar, though lame from his wound, he would never get into a *tukhtrewan*, because he said, he was no better than any other Douranee. His dress is always plain ; sometimes coarse ; he has never since reaching to manhood dined but in public, and the poorest persons share his dinner, which is usually composed of only mutton broth and bread, but plenty of it. My Meerzas felt much flattered the first night of our arrival by an invitation to dine with the Khan ; but on seeing the fare spread for them, they could not taste it, and always afterwards avoided as much as possible the honour.

This simplicity of life, as I have before observed ; these unaffected manners ; but above all his hospitality, have gained Shah Pussund Khan, the heart of the Douranees. A Douranee in my presence asked another what made Futteh Khan, the vuzeer, so popular ? “ He was a robber, a liar, a tyrant, and addicted to abominable vices.” “ One thing more,” replied the other, “ his bread, his hospitality.”

The hospitality of Shah Pussund is the theme of praise in all the countries bordering on Herat, and what renders it  
Hospitality. the more remarkable is, that he is not esteemed rich ; nor can he be so, as Kamraun extorted a good deal of money from him and his country ; for the constant warfare it has been exposed to, can have yielded but little. During my stay in his house—which circumstances protracted to fifteen days—I could not, though I more than once urged him, with all the arguments in my power, induce him to abandon the expensive kindness of feeding the whole of my establishment. His very mode of bestowing his bounty enhances the value of it. There is no waste, no profusion, every thing is appropriate, and ample. To me a dinner was always served up from the *anduroon*, and every day different sweetmeats were sent in with the compliments of his son. The Hindus had their grain, ghee, &c. the Mussulmans sheep,—so much apportioned to each man ; even the straw for the horses, for it was a scarce article, and was served out by weight. Besides my party, there were several others, who were all entertained in the same style. There were the servants of Alladad Khan, who accompanied Vikovitch to Teheran and died there, who were conducting the *taboat* to Candahar. They had been robbed in Seistan, and had fled to Laush for assistance and redress. There was the family of Jooma Khan, brother of the

Candahar sirdar, who had been robbed while returning from Beerjund; and whose family Shah Pussund sheltered, having sent out a party to bring them in as a friend. The son of Ahmed Khan had also arrived, and an *elchee* from Meshed, and several others of less consequence, not to speak of some lady guests, who were dependent, was evidently an every day matter. It did not create the least bustle or confusion. My host used always to visit me morning and evening, sitting for about an hour, always in one position, (which like Baber's uncles\* he never changes,) that called the *dayanu*. He was generally accompanied by a crowd and by a pet child, whose mother—a daughter of Khan Jehan Khan—had died a few days before I arrived. He had been much attached to her, and frequently spoke to me of his loss. I took an early opportunity of offering him, on the part of the envoy and minister, a diamond ring, and a shawl, and of presenting my credentials and letters from Major Todd. Shah Kamraun's introduction I thought might as well be in my desk, nor did I through my journey find it politic to present any of those I had received from him or from Yar Mahomed Khan. Saleh Khan at once acceded to my request of procuring grain for Major Todd, and in a few days the camels were brought from Furrah; and with some more hired ones were sent to Herat, loaded with wheat and barley, which was however procured with much difficulty, and had to be scraped together by seers at a time. In a (acknowledged) letter to Major Todd, I have detailed all the conversations I held with the Khan on political matters, and the earnestness with which he expressed his good will-towards the Shah of Cabul, and the English government, and explained the necessity which had forced him to have recourse to the alliance of Persia. I need here, therefore, say no more on this subject, and will again continue my interrupted Journal.

August 30th.—The Khan this morning brought in a small bag, and told me he had a favour to ask of me. He had been over-looking the property left by his wife above mentioned, that he might lock up any

Snake stone.

thing of value for the after-use of her son, and had discovered, he said, a bag of precious stones. “She

got them, poor thing, probably after some *chuppao*: what the greater

\* See Baber's Memoirs, p. 20.



number are I do not know ;” added he, “but one of them is I am convinced a *puzur*, preserver from stings, or snake-stone ; now just tell me what they are all worth ?” The bag on being opened, was found to contain nothing but a parcel of agates, cut into different shapes, and what evidently once formed the stock of some itinerant seal-cutter.

He had been so long opening the strings of the bag, that my curiosity had been warmed, and on perceiving the contents, I perhaps rather too bluntly exclaimed, that they were not worth a rupee. Saleh Khan seemed much disappointed, and only half-convinced ; he carefully put the stones into the bag again one by one, only reserving one red one, the *puzur* ; “And this ?” said, he, holding it out (“for God’s sake” whispered Mahomed Tuher, “say it is something curious ;”) but I thought it wisest to speak truth, and told him, that snake-stones were now found to be mere fallacies. He replied, “That is all nonsense ; that the *puzur* cures snake bites is a well attested fact. It was found in the belly of a deer, and why should it be there if it was of no use ? Besides you can easily see if this is a *puzur* or not, for if it is the real stone it will sweat on being put into the sun.” A plate was actually sent for, and the agate placed in it, and exposed to the sun, and the Khan, though soon doubtful of this identical stone being the *puzur*, believes as firmly as ever in the real one. He now put into my hands a small box, which I found contained the watch which had been sent to him by Mr. Macnaghten three months before. “I would not open this,” he said, “though they were very curious up there” (pointing to the *Zenana*, which is on the highest part of the castle,) “to see what was in it, for fear of spoiling it, and as I knew you were coming”. He was much pleased when he had learned to open and wind it up ; the last of which he would, all I could say, do every half hour, and then send the watch to me, saying it would not wind. The ignorance displayed on this occasion by Shah Pussund Khan at first surprized me. I had expected from his intercourse with Persians, that he would have been better informed on European matters than his countrymen ; but the little of our science he has picked up in his travels, half-learnt and half-understood, has only served to confuse, and not to improve.

He thought (and it is a popular belief in Khorassan,) that all the Russian gold money was found ready coined every Christmas-day at the bottom of a well, which is previously filled with baser metal. Some-

body having tried to make him understand the extraction of sugar from beet root, he has impressed his whole neighbourhood with the notion, that Russian sugar, which they always see in loaves, grows in its primeval shape like a carrot. One of my most acceptable visitors was the blind son of my host. He is not yet thirty, and has been blind some 12 or 13 years; one eye has been entirely destroyed by the lancet of some Candahar practitioners; from the other he can see a little, and it might I think be cured by couching. I wish indeed to bring him with me to Caubul, that some of our oculists might look at his eyes; but having thought of trying to cross the Ghore mountains, I feared his helplessness in such a region, and only pressed him therefore to go at once to Herat and take the advice of the doctors there. Like the most educated blind persons, he has a mild placid address, and a very retentive memory, and it was from him that I learnt the greater part of his father's history. He asked me to dinner, and the Khan, for once in his life, consented to be of the party. The host on this occasion would not sit down with us, but stood at the door, superintending the relays of dishes till we had all finished.

I mentioned to Shah Pussund my desire of paying my respects to the governor of Jorraine; he evidently was unwilling that I should go there, but did not well know how to put me off. He sent one or two persons privately to persuade me that the visit would look odd; that Goolzar Khan was a mere cypher, and of course there was a ready answer to such arguments. I have a letter to present, and must go. He was, I believe, fearful lest old Goolzar Khan, who is not on very good terms with his nephew, and who had all the garrulity of age, might speak to his disadvantage, or perhaps let out things he might not wish me to know. At last, however, I set out. I was met as usual by a large crowd, and by an *istikbal* of three or four of the old man's sons,

Jorraine. and Goolzar Khan himself came down from the fort

on foot to receive me, though he cannot walk without difficulty. He evidently was delighted to see me his guest; he began to fear that I should pass him by, and his honour was concerned in the matter. Somebody had also told him, that I would not make myself understood in Persian; but when he found that I enjoyed his stories of the old times, he told them with all the pleasure one receives from finding a new auditor to an old tale. He is a fine old gentle-

man, of about eighty, and his whole life has been a series of adventures. He was very funny and amusing: "There, bring the *Sahib* a kullion. I suppose you smoke well. In my younger days not one of us smoked, but those — Persians have infected us; very well, and how is my friend the vuzeer? May his house be blasted! Look at my feet, this is his doing." He held up his feet, of which all the toes had grown as it were into one. A very few years ago, Yar Mahomed Khan wrote to him addressing him as his father, as the whole hope of the Douranees, and sending him a Koran in pledge of his sincerity, and pressed him to come to Herat, where he should be treated with every distinction. The old Khan trusted him and went; he was seized and brought before Jorraine, where they beat the soles of his feet to a jelly with sticks, to make him write to his son to give up the fort.

I spent a very agreeable day, and returned in the afternoon to Laush. Jorraine is still a virgin fort, and could always, if well defended, keep out any Asiatic force. The walls, which may be about 200 yards in length, are very thick and high. The balls of the Heratees made hardly any impression on them. It has but one gateway, which is on the north face, and would be difficult to be forced. The base of the fort is elevated above the surrounding plain. Its weakest point is, that it is surrounded on all sides by buildings, so that it can be securely approached. The few measurements we were able to get by stealth, are mentioned in the Military Memoir. There is a dry ditch, but it is now half filled up. It was, when we were there, the most populous place I had seen since Candahar. All the Furrahees were settled round the walls in huts or black tents; their flocks were feeding in the plain; their cows had been sent off to the Humoon. There was hardly a yard of ground within the fort not covered with buildings. I do not exactly understand the relative situation of the governor of this fort and of Shah Pussund Khan. The latter is the real head; but he seems to interfere little with the affairs of the fort, and when Goolzar Khan dies, it is an understood thing that his son is to succeed to the lands immediately belonging to the fort, which yields only some 80 *khurwars*. Shah Pussund has three parts and Goolzar two.

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*Memoir on the Coal found at Kotah, &c. with a Note on the Anthracite of Duntimnapilly, (H. H. the Nizam's Dominions.)—By W. WALKER, ESQ. 24th April, 1841.*

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NOTE.—In submitting the accompanying Memoir, I have purposely abstained from giving any opinion either as to the quality of the Coal, the practicability of mining, or the likelihood of a large supply of the mineral being procurable at Kotah.

Destitute at this remote place of all means of forming any estimate on a subject on which I must in a certain degree be one-sided and prejudiced, I leave to others the decision of the intrinsic worth of the article, and both the other points. I refer to the practical engineer and miner, who alone, after survey, &c. are capable of forming a correct judgment.

Yet, I may be permitted to give it as my opinion, that the river merely touches the edge of the Coal basin, and to this I am led by the fact of no carboniferous limestone appearing on the other side, or on any of the shallows to the right: the dip too of the stratum to the N. E. would appear to be favorable to boring on the left bank. The alluvion there, as noticed in the Memoir, is about forty-five feet deep, and is a loose soil containing few pebbles. I may also observe as favorable to mining operations, that the general complaint of the inhabitants along the river is the great depth they are obliged to go before water is reached; this is particularly the case in the fort of Seronge, five miles below Kotah. On account of this difficulty of obtaining well water, the inhabitants are compelled to use that of the river, much against their inclination; as at certain seasons it is deemed by them very unwholesome.

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At Madhapore, there were brought to me some minerals from the bed of the Godavery at that place, which it required little discrimination to decide were of the nature of slate coal. Upon inquiry I found, that after the monsoon at the Dassara festival, persons employed themselves in gathering these minerals to be vended as medicines; and more particularly as charms to keep off the all-dreaded Evil eye, for which purpose they were burnt, incantations being said over them while inflamed. Their Tellugoo name is *assoorpoory*, and it is believed by some of the natives, that they were the weapons with which the

gods contended ; while other maintained the opinions, that they annually grew and were thrown off the river's bed, or sprung like the Cytherean goddess from the water foam ; but all agreed that it was the Pundeetah river that supplied them. I lost no time in proceeding to the Sungum of the rivers Godavery and Pundeetah, and upon receiving, what I conceived from specimens shewn me, correct intelligence of their origin, I ascended the river to a place called Kotah, a small Goand village on its banks, about ten miles from the Sungum, and twenty miles N. E. of Chinnore ; a space of about eighty yards in length, and thirty in breadth was pointed out at the edge of the left bank of the river, the alluvial covering of which could not be much under forty-five feet, and this I was told was the original seat of the coal. Upon examination, I found that limestone, more or less argillaceous, occupied this space ; the upper strata were completely dislocated, and deranged by the force of the current ; the inferior, however, appeared more compact and hard, and as far as could be ascertained, dipped to the N. E. at a low angle. Seeing that the water must have completely denuded these limestones of any shale or coal that may ever have accompanied them, I thought of searching a little higher up in the bed of the river, and observing a small rock of the same argillaceous limestone just above the water, search was made there, when coal along with its accompanying shale and bituminous shale was broken off from the sides of the rock : this left no doubt as to the existence and position of a coal measure. The rock formation in which it is to be supposed this coal measure exists, is that where the mineral is usually found all over the world, and in India without any exception. According to the report of the Calcutta Coal Committee, the depth of the alluvium, and the circumstance of the outcrop being in the river's bed, precluded all possibility of ascertaining the relative position of the several strata ; but as sandstone is found on all sides, and towards the north at the short distance of two or three hundred yards, it is more than probable that here there is no deviation from the arrangement of rock commonly found to exist in such cases. As to the sandstone itself, I cannot give a better description than in the words of the late Dr. Voysey, who travelled over a great part of this country, and must have been perfectly familiar with the sandstone formation of the Godavery :—



“The sandstone varies considerably in composition and colour. Its variations however, occur principally in the neighbourhood of its junction with the other rocks. Its most common cement is lithomarge, which is also found in it in nests and beds of various sizes, and of colour both white and reddish white ;” and he might have added, yellow.

But I am aware any description I can give of the locality and of the accompanying strata, will be deemed deficient by the geologist, without specimens illustrative of both. I therefore proceed to give a brief description of those sent.

*Box No. 1.*—Contains specimens of shale, more or less bituminous, which were broken off the rock along with the coal.

*Box No. 2.*—Contains specimens of shale found in the same situation.

*Box No. 3.*—Contains specimens of the argillaceous limestone, composing the dislocated and disturbed strata formerly described. Some of these blocks are from a foot to a foot and a half in thickness, with a surface twenty to thirty square feet.

*Box No. 4.*—Contains specimens broken off from the compact and hard limestone, that has resisted displacement by the current. One of these will be observed to be water-worn.

*Box No. 5.*—Contains specimens of sandstone in the vicinity of the coal measure.

*Box No. 6.*—Contains specimens from a neighbouring hill.

The river at Kotah is one hundred and fifty yards wide, is proportionably deep, and is always turbid. It contains, at this season at least, more water than the Godavery. The country around is jungly ; Kotah itself is the first Goand village on that side of the Chinnore Sircar, and is a miserable little place. I sent a party several miles up the river to discover, if possible, any sign of another coal deposit ; but they returned without a mineral of any description. About eight miles up the river, among the hills at the village of Yenkatapore, there is found brown clay iron ore among the sandstone. I did not hear of this until I had reached Chinnore, and an opportunity was thus denied me of visiting the locality. I send specimens procured from the place in box No. 7. This ore was formerly smelted ; but the works have been abandoned ; the natives give a good character of the iron produced. The specific gravity is above 3.

*Note on the Anthracite that formed the subject of my Letter of the 28th ultimo.*

An intelligent Mootsuddy, with a couple of peons, were despatched to the Jungaum purgannah, where the village of Duntimnapilly is situated, the nearest to the spot where the anthracite was said to be procured. On arriving at Chinnore, he proceeded in a north-westerly direction by Tandoor and Jungaum to Duntimnapilly, which is distant twenty miles from the last mentioned town.\* The country between Jungaum and Duntimnapilly is described as particularly wild, with Goands for inhabitants. According to his account, the bed of anthracite is situated on the bank of a nullah among hills, (I regret that not having a large map I can indicate the situation no better,) that it is three feet at its greatest breadth, and that it extends upwards of two hundred feet in length. I give these numbers with some confidence in their being accurate, as he brought a piece of bamboo with him by which the stratum was measured.

*Box No. 8.*—Contains a carbonaceous sandstone, through which the anthracite was said to pass into the micaceous sandstone, both above and below. A specimen of the latter is in *Box No. 9.*—I send also further specimens of the coal itself. The rock above the mineral was said to be fifteen feet in thickness. It may be added, that this coal is esteemed of great value in the United States, where seven hundred and fifty thousand bushels were sent to Philadelphia alone in one year, (Ure's Dictionary.) It is there burned in peculiar grates adapted to its difficult combustion. It is used also in South Wales for smelting iron.

CHINNORE, 24th April, 1841.

\* Jungaum is 65 miles to the West of Chinnore.

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Note—I have used the general term sandstone, although there can be no doubt from its position, known connexion, extent, &c. that it is the old red sandstone; for the same reason, to avoid all theoretical views, I have designated limestone by its mineralogical character. It would have been easy to have given more learned terms, but my chief object—perspicuity—might have been compromised by having done so.

*Extract from Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of London, 1837-1838, on the comparative status of circulating media at different periods, under the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Kings.*

The number of coins in the different metals, quoted for each reign by Mionnet, are affixed in the corrected series, together with that of those given by Professor Wilson from the Masson Collection, in the three annexed plates. Of the former, the total number is 166, and of the latter, 35 ; which, aided by Professor Wilson's remarks, are enough for general conclusions regarding the circulating media of the several periods, and thus far elucidating the statistics of this portion of history.

It will be evident that, under the Greek line in Bactria and India, silver and copper formed the commercial medium by which the treasury was replenished. A single gold coin, and another of potin, are the only exceptions to this remark in a series of 105.

Then follow ninety-six coins of the barbarous successors of the Greeks ; displaying a remarkable decrease of silver, and nearly as notable an increase of gold. The whole are distributed in the following proportions :

	Gold	Silver	Copper	Potin
Græco-Bactrian kings, to Eucratidas I. inclusively. B. c. 255—125. Monoling.	1	26	5	...
Græco-Indian kings, from Eucratidas II. to Hermæus. B. c. 125—0. Bilingual.	...	14	34	1
	1	40	39	1
Græco-Indian kings of the collateral line, from Heliocles to Mayes. B. c. 125—A. D. 100. Bilingual .....	...	9	15	...
	1	49	54	1
Indo-Scythian kings, who followed the line of Eucratidas II. A. D. 0—125. Bi.	7	...	35	...
Barbarous princes, who appear to have followed the collateral Greek line. A. D. 100—225. Mostly Bilingual .....	...	...	5	...
Indo-Parthian kings, who probably followed the Indo-Scythians, and gave place to the Sassanians. A. D. 125—225. Bi.	...	6	41	2
Gold .....	8	55	135	3
Silver .....	55			
Copper ...	135			
Potin .....	3			
	201			

By this statement it would appear, that the proportion of silver (the standard medium of Asiatic commerce in the age of Bactrian independence, as at present) materially diminished under the Græco-Indians, until a substitution of potin, probably to make up the deficiency of the former, appears in the coinage of Hermæus, the last of the Greek Soters; while the silver bears scarcely any proportion to the copper under the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, and, at first, altogether disappears; whereas, the potin (which was used in great extent in the contemporary coinage of Parthia), is continued: and this may account for the silver drachms of Menander and Apollodotus being then in circulation.

The deficiency of silver seems, however, to have been compensated by an extensive issue of gold, under the first Indo-Scythic princes; of which there are, likewise, many fine unpublished examples in the collection of the East India Company.

The conclusion seems forced on us, that the progressive decrease of silver under the Greek rulers, indicates a decrease in commercial prosperity, arising from the Scythian occupation, first of Bactria, and afterwards of Bactrian-India; while this appears to be contradicted by the gold issue of the conquerors.

But, as the latter have left no known remains of a coinage anterior to their occupation of Bactrian-India, we may infer, first, that the mintage of the line of Euthydemus continued in circulation under the Bactro-Scythians, as did that of the line of Menander under the Indo-Scythians; and, secondly, that plunder (of the temples? in connexion with the introduction of the Parthian worship, as above), rather than commerce, was the source of the sudden riches evinced by the mintage of the latter.

This view will, besides, afford an additional and weighty reason for referring the issuers of the gold coinage—the probable invaders and plunderers of the Greek provinces—to the head of the dynasty, as the immediate successors of the line of Menander; to which position they are equally referred by their imitations of the mintage of Hermæus, found with the coins of that prince, and by the usurped title of Σωτηρ.

In agreement with the above, the Indo-Scythic issue would appear greatly to have degenerated under the latter princes of the dynasty, when their exhausted dominions probably no longer afforded materials for an issue in the precious metals.

The poor mintage of the Indo-Parthians might have either been a continuation of the latter, or of that of the later Greek princes. It presents no sudden alteration of currency, like that just alluded to; and, in either case, has the character of a peaceful revolution, or change of dynasty. But as we cannot doubt that the paramount Greek domination in India, as well as in Bactria, was annihilated by conquest, it seems to follow that the change in question has no connexion with that revolution, but was a natural one, from a Scythian to a Parthian dynasty, as inferred in a former note. Such, at least is the conclusion forced on us by the present data, which, we may hope that the continued researches of Professor Wilson, with whose invitation to inquiry the present analysis is an imperfect attempt at compliance, will either confirm or correct. That there were Parthian as well as Scythian rulers in India in the Roman age, is evident from the names preserved by contemporary writers (see Table I.) They are not those of the Indo-Parthians of the coins, and may have preceded them.

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